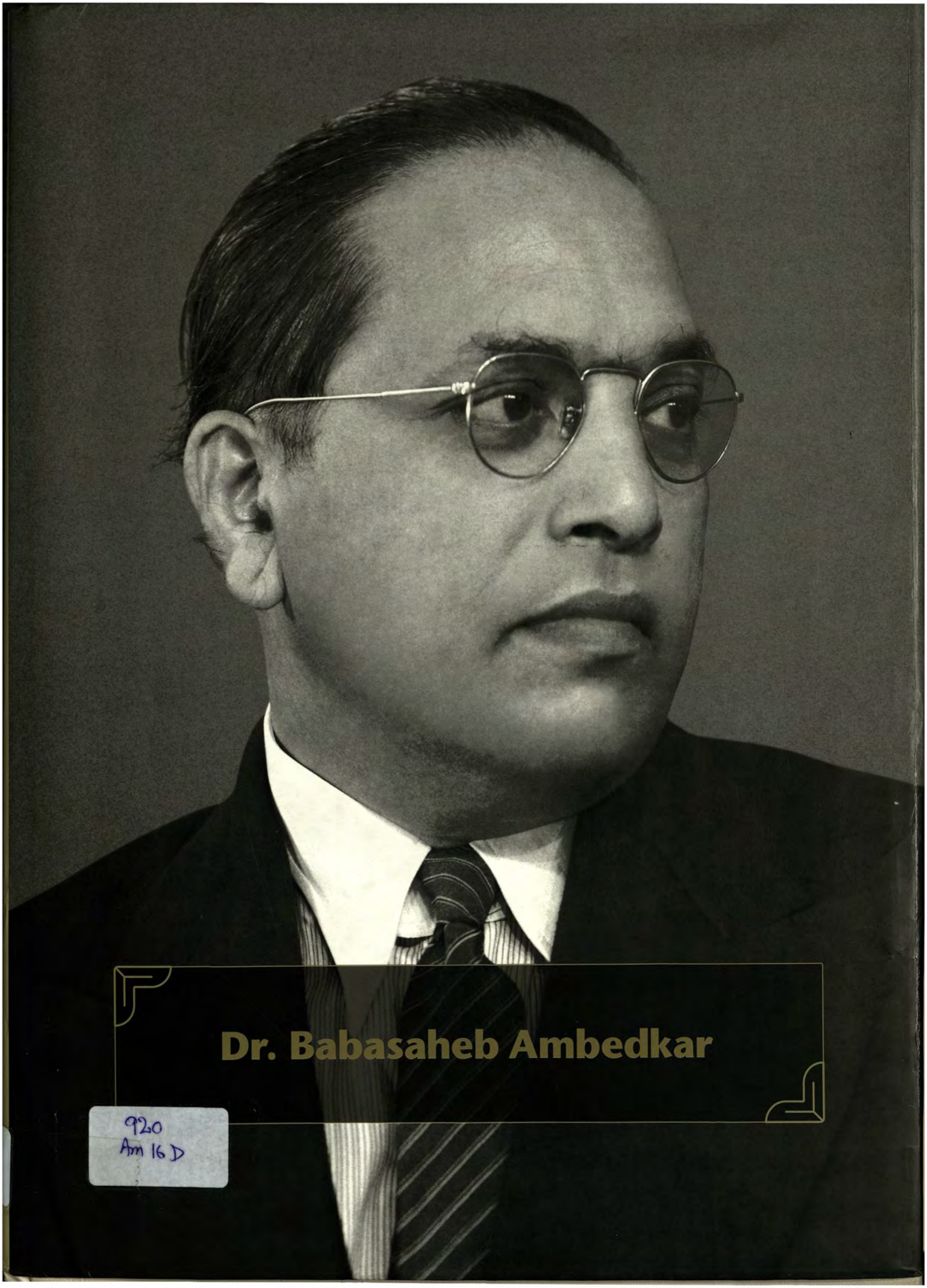


Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar

Again as the Buddha has said —

आरोग्य परमा लाभा सन्तुट्ठी परमं धनं
विस्साम परमा आती निब्बाणं परमं सुखं

The underlined portion is the most important संतोष is परमं धनं He who has no संतोष is always unhappy

B.R.A.

(From the letter written by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar to Daulat Gulaji Jadhav on 24 February 1953.)



Marathi version. The translation for the Hindi edition was done by Sanjay Bhise who was assisted by Rakesh Sharma whereas that for the English edition was done by Shubha Chitre-Piplapure and Gayatri Pagdi, assisted by Rahi Dahake and Ritwik Dahake.

Advocate Govind Pansare has always encouraged me in all my endeavours. He has provided similar support for this book too, in all its stages, from its conception to the final production.

The hard work put in by my associate Jayprakash Sawant in this project merits special mention. Earlier he had assisted me similarly, in the publication of the photo-biography 'University of Mumbai – Ornament of the City.' I am deeply indebted to him.

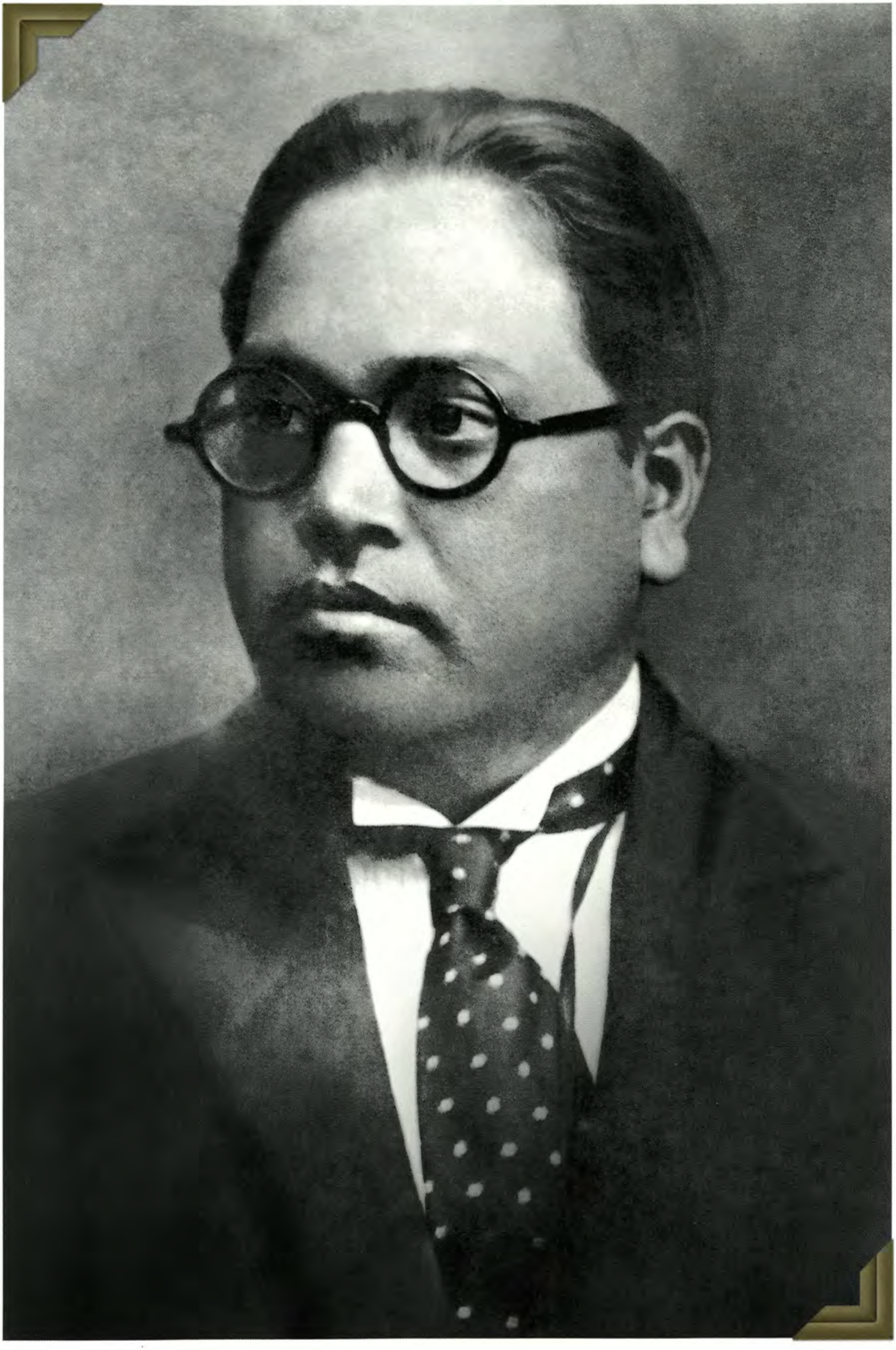
Fortunately for us, we had a veteran Ambedkarian like Ramesh Shinde to do the research involved in this project. The energy and alacrity with which he helped us at every step were amazing. Come rain or shine, he would go places to look up references, so that correct information and dates could be provided in this book.

Y. D. Phadke, Raosaheb Kasbe, Pushpa Bhave, Bhaskar Laxman Bhole, Datta Bhagat, Nagnath Kotapalle, Bhalchandra Mungekar, Ashok Chausalkar, Ravindra Kimbahune, Arjun Dangle, Yashwant Manohar, Jaydev Dole, Ghanashyam Mandavkar, Anand Teltumbde and Indira Jaising went through the manuscript of the book and provided critical suggestions to enrich its content. We are grateful to them.

My Friend, Rahul Mayekar has done the computer type-setting. My colleagues from Lokvangmay Griha have worked hard for the success of this project. DesignNess, Mumbai have designed the book aesthetically. The excellent processing and the printing of the book were done at Reproscan and Jak Printers respectively. The efforts put in by Pankaj Mehta of Reproscan and Khushru Patel of Jak Printers in the production of this book are invaluable. I am grateful to all of them.

Bharat Chawhan, my friend who was with me when I conceptualised this project, passed away as the volume was taking shape. Had he been with us, he would have been very happy at the publication of this book. A great source of enthusiasm and inspiration, he is deeply missed by all of us.

I hope this volume will prove useful to students of the Ambedkarian movement and appeal to the general reader as well.





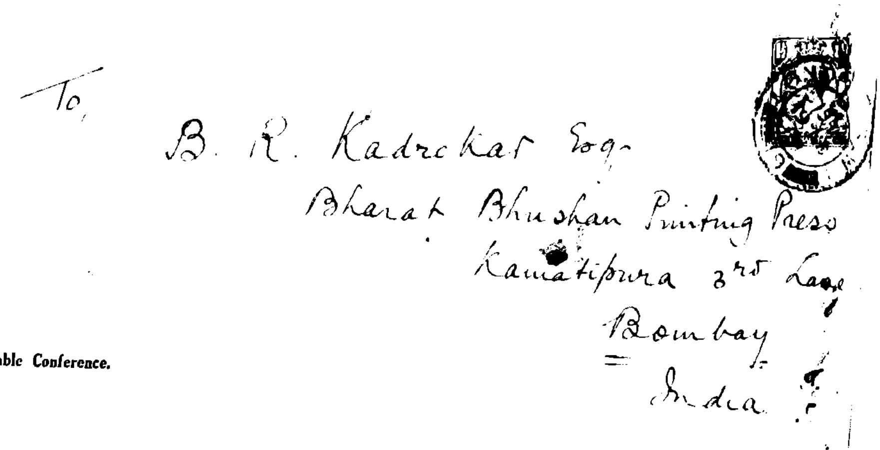
3. That the *Shudra* is not to be respected in the same way as the other classes, 4. That the life of a *Shudra* is of no value and anybody may kill him without having to pay compensation or a much smaller one as compared with that of the *Brahmin, Kshatriya* and *Vaishya,* 5. That the *Shudra* must not acquire knowledge and it is a sin and a crime to give him education, 6. That a *Shudra* must not acquire property. A *Brahmin* can take his property at his pleasure, 7. That a *Shudra* cannot hold office under the State, 8. That the duty and salvation of the *Shudra* lies in his serving the higher classes, 9. That the higher classes must not inter-marry with the *Shudra.* They can however keep a *Shudra* woman as a concubine. But if the *Shudra* touches a woman of the higher classes, he will be liable to dire punishment, 10. That the *Shudra* is born in servility and must be kept in servility forever.' (Ambedkar, 1946: 43, 44).

Why did the *Brahmins* create such inhuman conditions for the *Shudras?*

Dr. Ambedkar explored many resources to find out the origins of the *Shudras* and the reason why they were pushed to the bottom of the social ladder. According to him: *Shudras* were originally *Aryans*, a part of the *Kshatriyas.* Some of the most important kings were *Shudras.* King Paijvan from the *Mahabharata* also known as King Sudas from the *Rigveda* was a *Shudra.* He had composed some *richa* of the *Rigveda,* had carried out a *yadnya* and the *Brahmins* who performed it for him had been paid for their services by him. There was a conflict between the *Shudras* and the *Brahmins* and the latter refused to perform the thread ceremony for them. This refusal meant a refusal to allow the studies of the *Vedas.* It was only after this ceremony that a person's social status and personal rights were decided. The *Brahmins* used the weapon of refusal to perform this ceremony and it destroyed the *Shudras.*

In the final chapter, Dr. Ambedkar tested his own theory and raised some important questions. The answers to these questions meant that: The *Shudras* were *Aryans.* They had the right to education. They had the right to perform *yadnya.* They had the right to the thread ceremony. The *Shudras* were involved in the governance of a kingdom.

His book *The Untouchables: Who Were They and Why They Became Untouchables* (1948), as he said in his introduction, is the sequel to his book *Who Were the Shudras: How They Came to be the Fourth Varna in the Indo-Aryan Society.* This book is divided into six parts and sixteen chapters. He said in the introduction: '1. There is no racial difference between the Hindus and the Untouchables, 2. The distinction between the Hindus and the Untouchables in its original form, before the advent of untouchability, was the distinction between the Tribesmen and the Broken Men from alien Tribes. It is the Broken Men who subsequently came to be treated as Untouchables, 3. Just as untouchability has no racial basis so also has it no occupational basis, 4. There are two routes from which untouchability has sprung: [a] Contempt and hatred of the Broken Men as of Buddhists by the *Brahmins.* [b] Continuation of beef eating by the Broken Men after it had been given up by others, 5. In searching for the origin of untouchability, care must be taken to distinguish the Untouchables from the Impure. All orthodox Hindu writers have identified the Impure with the Untouchable. This


To,
B. R. Kadrekar Esq.
Bharat Bhushan Printing Press
Kamatipura 3rd Lane
Bombay
India

Indian Round Table Conference.

is an error. Untouchables are distinct from the Impure, 6. While the Impure as a class came into existence at the time of the *Dharma Sutras*, the Untouchables came into being much later than 400 AD.' (Ambedkar, 1948 : 5)

Dr. Ambedkar also discussed untouchability among the non-Hindus. Later, while commenting upon the concept of contamination, he said that the Hindus and the others were no different. The *Manusmriti* mentions this factor of contamination. Manu considered that the contaminating factors were life, death and menstruation. Other than this, there was another kind of untouchability, which was based on birth and the traditions. Listing out the communities which were Untouchables he said, 'Reduced to numbers, it means that today there exist in India 50–60 million of people whose mere touch causes pollution to the Hindus. Surely, the phenomenon of untouchability among primitive and ancient society pales into insignificance before this phenomenon of hereditary untouchability for so many millions of people that we find in India. This type of untouchability among Hindus stands in a class by itself. It has no parallel in the history of the world.' (Ambedkar, 1948: 20, 21)

Thereafter, Dr. Ambedkar explained why the Untouchables lived outside the villages and why their impurity could not be removed. In the *Manusmriti* it had been stated that the homes of the *Chandals* and the *Shvapaks* had to be outside the village, their clothes had to be made of the cloth that the corpses were wrapped in; they had to eat from broken vessels and had to wear ornaments made of iron. They were also told not to live in one place permanently.

Did the Untouchables live outside the village right from the beginning or did they start living away from the others since the time they were considered Untouchables? Dr. Ambedkar believed that they lived outside the village even before they were declared Untouchables. When the tribal society was turning into an agrarian settled one, there were still some groups who had remained nomadic. In the course of the conflict between two tribes, they were those who had lost and were scattered around. Dr. Ambedkar called them the Broken Men. The Broken Men had broken away and that is why they lived outside. It had nothing to do with untouchability. Dr. Ambedkar asked if the Broken Men were the Untouchables and then himself gives an answer in the affirmative. What was the proof that the Untouchables were the Broken Men? According to him, the difference in the deities that they worshipped could be considered a proof. Words such as *Antya, Avarna* too suggested that they were the people who lived outside the main village.

The second proof that he gave was that of the *Mahars*. The *Mahars* lived outside the village. They guarded the village and collected fifty-two rights for it. The *Mahars* always lived outside the village and it was not as though they were thrown out. The relations between them and the villagers were like those between the Broken Men and the settlers.

Dr. Ambedkar found some more examples elsewhere in the world too. Gradually, the difference between those outside the village and the villagers dissolved. There was no untouchability anywhere else in the world like the kind that remained in India.

How did untouchability originate? What were its roots? Dr. Ambedkar believed that the history of the country threw up four names: *Aryans, Dravidians, Das* and *Nag*. Did they belong to different races or were they the people of the same race named differently? According to him, there were the *Rigvedi Aryans* and the *Atharvavedi Aryans*. The *Rigvedi Aryans* created the *Brahmanas, Sutras* and *Aryanakas*. *Atharvavedi Aryans* created the *Upanishads*. There was a cultural conflict between the two groups. However, *Das* and *Nag* were the same. *Das* was another name for the *Nags*. The king of the *Nags* was known as Dahaak. This Indo-Aryan word, under the influence of Sanskrit, changed to *Das*. The *Nag* people came to be recognised by their king's name. They were not *Aryans*. There is a reference to them in the *Rigveda*. *Nag* referred to the name of a race and *Dravid* referred to a name that had linguistic origins. This meant that in this country there were only the *Aryans* and the *Nags*. The presumption that the Untouchables were different from the *Aryans* and the *Dravidians* was wrong. Genetically, the *Brahmins* and the Untouchables were no different. The origins of the *Mahars* and the *Marathas* were the same. Dr. Ambedkar said, 'The racial theory of the origin of untouchability must, therefore, be abandoned.

Dr. Ambedkar did not agree with the thought that untouchability was associated with their occupations. Then what did untouchability have its roots in? According to Dr. Ambedkar, the Broken Men were Buddhists. The Hindus hated them. The Buddhists were unwilling to leave their religion and that is why untouchability was thrust upon them. The second reason was eating beef. Earlier, the Hindus too ate beef but later both the *Brahmins* and the non-*Brahmins* stopped eating it. Killing a cow was considered a sin. The Broken Men continued to eat beef and hence were rejected and excommunicated. One of their occupations was to get rid of dead cattle and that too contributed to their continuing to eat beef. They did not seem to have much choice.

So when did untouchability come into being? It did not exist in the *Vedic* age, neither was it found during the age of the *Dharma Sutras*. There is some confusion about whether untouchability existed during the time of Manu. According to Dr. Ambedkar, the period in which Manu lived was 185 BC. According to the notes made by the Chinese traveller, Huen Tsang, who visited India in 629 AD, untouchability existed even then. Dr. Ambedkar felt that untouchability was born a little before 600 AD. If one looked at the period when killing a cow was declared a crime, one could trace the origin of untouchability. The *Guptas*, in the fourth century, had declared that killing a cow was a terrible crime. Accordingly, untouchability might have started around 400 AD.

Dr. Ambedkar's unpublished work, *Untouchables or the Children of India's Ghetto,* was divided into four sections and fourteen chapters. It appears that he wrote it after 1952.

In the first section, *What it is to be an Untouchable,* Dr. Ambedkar compared the problems of the Untouchables and the Jews. He pointed out the similarity in their problems and yet explained how different they were. The Jews chose to retain their exclusive identity. The Untouchables had not chosen their lives away from the mainstream. Untouchability was a punishment, not a choice.

Dr. Ambedkar said that there was some similarity between the slaves and the Untouchables and there were points of difference too. By discussing slavery during the Romans and then during the early years of America, Dr. Ambedkar proved that it was possible for a slave to be free but the Untouchables could never escape untouchability. Untouchability was far more cruel than slavery.

Indian villages had been considered ideal for their organisation and self-governance. However, Dr. Ambedkar said that reality was very different. An Indian village contained people of various castes. There were two basic divisions: The Touchables and the Untouchables. The Touchables were a big group and the Untouchables, comparatively smaller. The Touchables lived in the village and the Untouchables, outside it. The Touchables were economically powerful and the Untouchables were weak. The Touchables had social rights and power and the Untouchables were their slaves. The Touchables had made certain rules that had to be followed by the Untouchables. They also had to do the work that was meant for them. Dr. Ambedkar listed the duties and rules. The Touchables were always superior to the Untouchables, irrespective of their age. If the Untouchables broke a rule, they were punished. Even if one of them broke a rule, the entire group was punished. How did the Untouchables live? They were landless labourers and were paid the minimum. Dr. Ambedkar mentioned the horrific practice of paying the Untouchables, which was prevalent in Uttar Pradesh. They were given the corn that the bullocks had swallowed and had thrown out through their excreta.

Dr. Ambedkar said that this was the village, the rural self-governance system that the Hindus were so proud of. The Touchables were always Touchables and the Untouchables were always Untouchables. There was no democracy in this 'village republic'; there was no equality, no brotherhood. It was a colony created by the caste Hindus to exploit the Depressed Classes.

In the fifth chapter, Dr. Ambedkar wrote about the treatment meted out to the Untouchables by the Touchables. According to the other castes, the Untouchables were not human; they could not come anywhere close to the Touchables; could not attend schools, could not be cremated in the same crematorium. They had the rights, but could not use them. The government of the people and for the people did not mean a government for the Untouchables. Equality of rights did not mean equality for the Untouchables. They could not get out of the situation because they were alienated. There was nobody who could help them.

How could this social isolation of the Untouchables be eliminated? Dr. Ambedkar said in his essay *Away from the Hindus*, 'The one and only way to end their social isolation is for the Untouchables to establish kinship with and get themselves incorporated into another community which is free from the spirit of caste. The answer is quite simple and yet not many will readily accept its validity. The reason is, very few people realize the value and significance of kinship. Nevertheless, its value and significance are very great.' 'Kinship is the antithesis of isolation. For the Untouchables to establish kinship with another community is merely another name for ending their present state of isolation. Their isolation will never end so long as they remain Hindus.' (Moon, 1989, Vol. 5: 413, 415)

Mr. B. R. Ambedkar,

95 Brook Green,

Hemmersmith,

London W. 6,

Lord Mountbatten was appointed Viceroy of India in place of Lord Wavell on 20 February 1947. He came to India in March 1947 to assume his duties.

In March 1947, Dr. Ambedkar published the book *States and Minorities: What are Their Rights and How to Secure Them in the Constitution of Free India* (1947). He said in the introduction, 'Soon after it became definite that the framing of the future Constitution of India was to be entrusted to a Constituent Assembly, the Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation asked me to prepare a Memorandum on the Safeguards for the Scheduled Castes for being submitted to the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the Federation. I very gladly undertook the task. The results of my labour are contained in this brochure.'

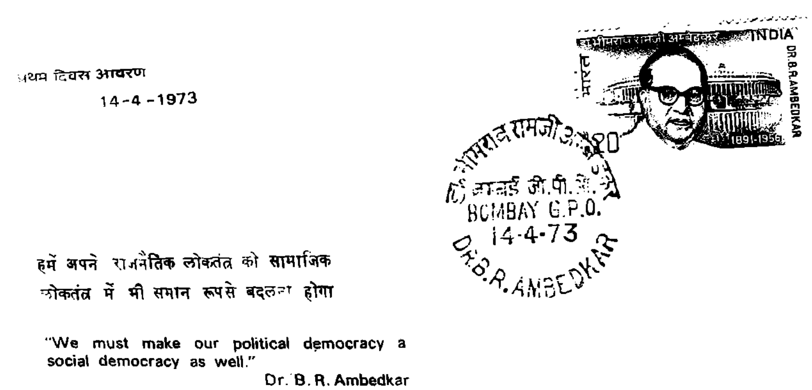
The book was based on the provisions of the Constitution. It was, in fact a smaller version of the Constitution. He wrote, 'The Memorandum defines Fundamental Rights, Minority Rights and Safeguards for the Scheduled Castes. Those who hold the view that the Scheduled Castes are not a minority might say that in this matter I have gone beyond prescribed bounds. The view that the Scheduled Castes are not a minority is a new dispensation issued on behalf of the High and Mighty Hindu Majority which the Scheduled Castes are asked to submit to.' Dr. Ambedkar thought that among the many problems the Constituent Assembly had to face, there were two, which were admittedly most difficult. One was the problem of Minorities and the other, the problem of the Indian States. In the Proposed Article 2, Dr. Ambedkar wrote on Fundamental Rights of Citizens, Protection against Unequal Treatment, Discrimination, Economic Exploitation and Social Boycott. This book is the reflection of Dr. Ambedkar's intellect, scholarship, his concern for all the citizens of the country and his awareness of their rights.

The House of Commons passed the Indian Independence Bill on 15 July 1947. According to it, on 15 August 1947, the country would be divided into two dominions, India and Pakistan. The representatives of both the countries were to frame their respective Constitutions.

By the end of July, the first cabinet of ministers of independent India decided to take shape. On 3 August, the names of the Indian ministers were declared. Dr. Ambedkar was to serve as the nation's first Law Minister.

On 15 August 1947, India became independent.

The constituency of Khulna in district Jessore in Bengal, from where Dr. Ambedkar was elected to the Constituent Assembly, was now in Pakistan and so his election was considered void. According to the decision of the Congress leaders, Barrister Mukundrao Jayakar resigned and Dr. Ambedkar took his place on the Constituent Assembly.



On 29 August 1947, the Constituent Assembly set up a Committee to scrutinise the draft constitution. In its first meeting on 30 August 1947, the Drafting Committee elected Dr. Ambedkar its Chairman. The responsibility of amending the Constitution fell on his shoulders alone, as out of the seven members one resigned, one passed away, one went abroad, two kept away because of health reasons and yet one more was too busy with the issue of the princely states! Dr. Ambedkar, who did the sacred work, single handed and spectacularly, was congratulated by one of the members, T. T. Krishnammachari. Dr. Ambedkar, with his unwavering faith in his work and his formidable intellect undertook the monumental task of drafting, tabling and discussing in Parliament various articles of the Constitution. His thought has left a deep imprint on the Preamble, the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles for State Policy of the Constitution.

On 30 January 1948, Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated at Birla House in Delhi. Dr. Ambedkar was grief-stricken. He paid respects to his mortal remains and walked some distance with the cortège.

On 21 February 1948, Dr. Ambedkar presented the fresh draft of the Constitution to President Dr. Rajendra Prasad. His health had started showing the signs of stress and it was a cause of worry to him. In his letter to Dadasaheb Gaikwad on 16 March 1948, he wrote, 'If I appoint a nurse or a housekeeper, there might be talk. Getting married is a better option. I had, after Yashwant's mother's death, decided not to remarry. However, considering the situation, I need to go back on my decision.' He married Dr. Sharada Kabir (renamed Savita after marriage) of Mumbai on 15 April 1948 at his residence in Delhi in the presence of a few friends. On 3 November 1948, he presented the final draft to the Constituent Assembly.

On 25 November 1949, he spoke about the objections raised over some of the parts of the Constitution. He said in this speech, 'I came into the Constituent Assembly with no greater aspiration than to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes. I had not the remotest idea that I would be called upon to undertake functions that are more responsible. I was therefore greatly surprised when the Assembly elected me to the Drafting Committee. I was more than surprised when the Drafting Committee elected me to be its Chairman.' He thanked the Constituent Assembly but refused to take the entire credit of drafting the Constitution. He shared with it Sir B. N. Rao and other colleagues. Dr. Ambedkar said that however good the Constitution might be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad lot. However bad a Constitution may be, it might turn out to be good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot.

In the last part of his speech Dr. Ambedkar said, 'My mind is so full of the future of our country that I feel I ought to take this occasion to give expression to some of my reflections thereon. On 26 January 1950, India will be a republic. What would happen to her independence? Will she maintain her independence or will she lose it again? Will history repeat itself? It is this thought, which fills me with anxiety. This anxiety is deepened by the realisation of the fact that in addition to our old enemies in the form of castes and

Jatak

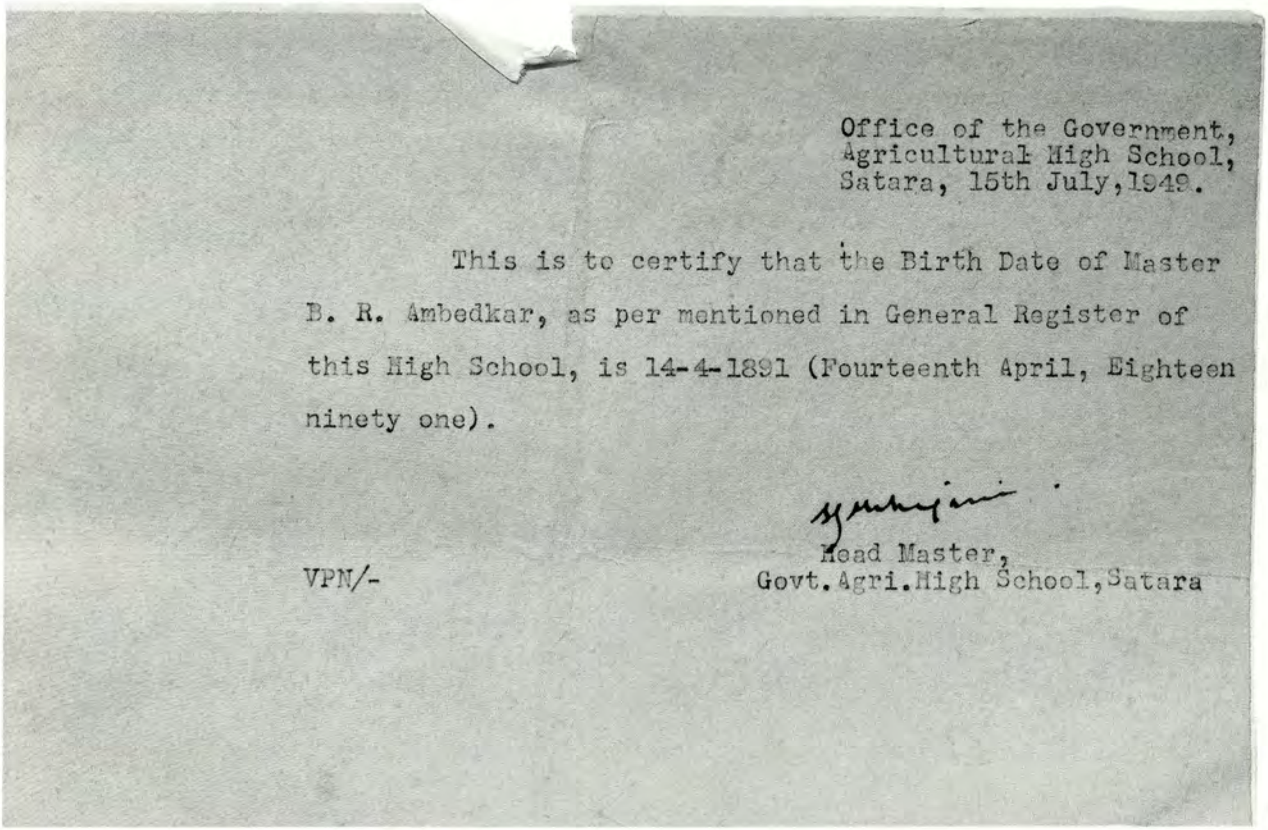


OUR WAY

We will go by our path; others should go by their path. We have found a new way. This is a day of hope. This is a way of success, of prosperity. This way is not something new. This path was not brought here from somewhere else. This path is from here, it is purely Indian. The Buddhist religion has been in India for 2,000 years. Truly speaking, we regret that we did not become Buddhists before this. The principles spoken by *Bhagvan* Buddha are immortal. But Buddha did not make a claim for this, however. There is an opportunity of making changes according to the times. Such open mindedness is not found in any other religion.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
from the speech delivered at Nagpur on 15 October 1956

(*Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar : Writings and Speeches*, Vol. 17, 2001)



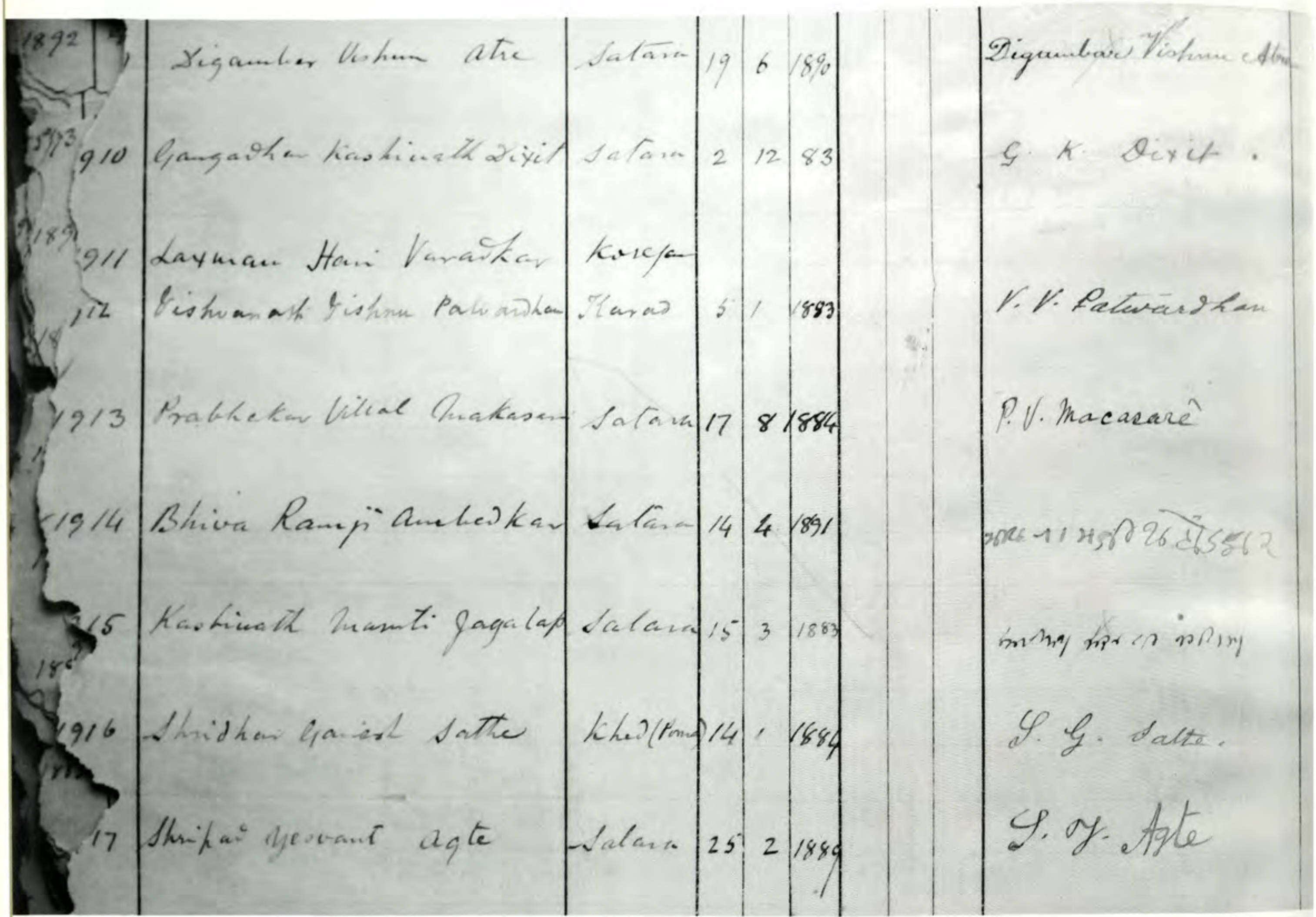
Office of the Government,
Agricultural High School,
Satara, 15th July,1949.

This is to certify that the Birth Date of Master B. R. Ambedkar, as per mentioned in General Register of this High School, is 14-4-1891 (Fourteenth April, Eighteen ninety one).

Head Master,
Govt.Agri.High School,Satara

VPN/-

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was born at the military cantonment at Mhow on 14 April 1891 in the erstwhile Central Provinces. He was the fourteenth child born to Ramji Sakpal and Bhimabai. Dr. Ambedkar said about his father, 'He saw to it that we children developed a pious character, with a penchant for knowledge.' Ramji Sakpal held the rank of Subedar in the Military.



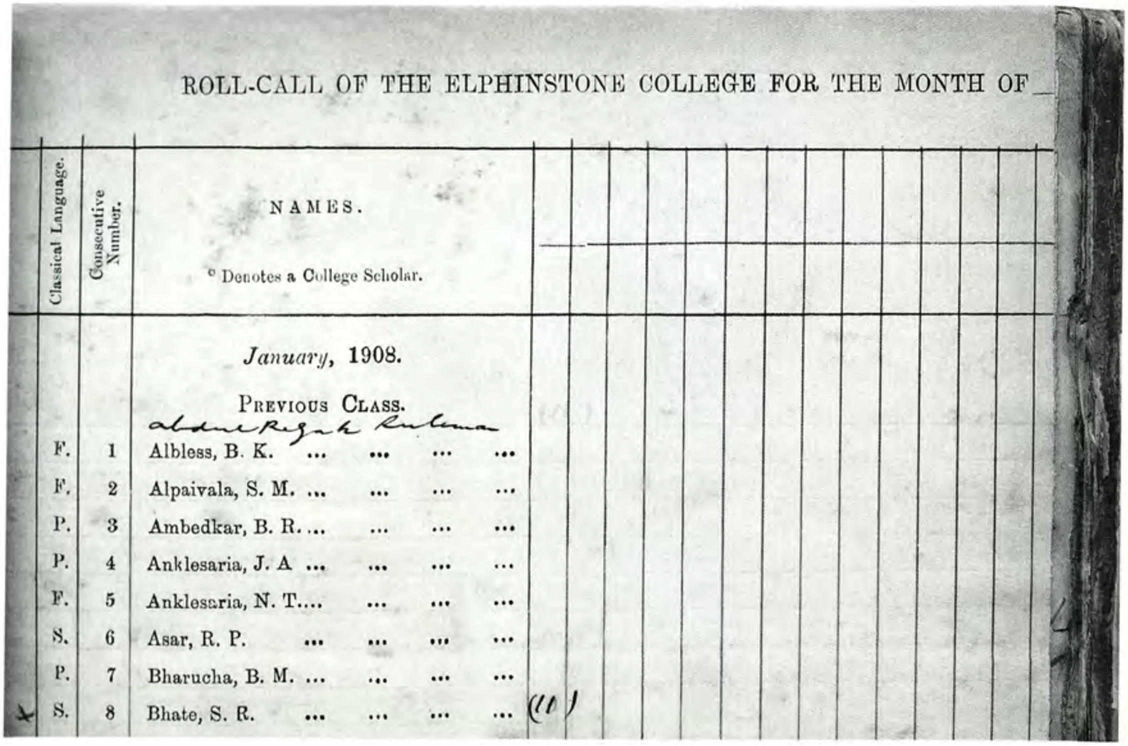
Entry in the office of Satara High School of Bhiva Ramji Ambedkar.

Subedar Ramji retired from military service in 1894 at Mhow. After living in Dapoli for some time, he shifted his family to Satara. Bhimrao's mother Bhimabai died in 1896 in Satara. On 7 November 1900, Bhimrao entered the English first standard in the Satara High School (now Pratapsingh High School). It was in this school that a teacher by the name of Krishnaji Keshav Ambedkar (1855–1934) changed Bhimrao's surname from Ambawadekar to his own Ambedkar. The change of name was entered in the school records. No record of the change of surname from Sakpal to Ambawadekar is available. Bhimrao passed the fourth standard examination from this school.



Elphinstone High School, Mumbai. (The school building situated at Byculla, now houses the Main Hospital of Central Railways which has been named as Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Memorial Hospital.)

Subedar Ramji Sakpal left Satara and came to Mumbai so that his children would obtain good education (November–December 1904). He lived in Dabak Chawl (Elphinstone Road) with his family. Later in 1912, the Subedar shifted residence to the BIT Chawl, Poibawdi, Parel, Mumbai. He secured Bhimrao an admission in the Elphinstone High School on 3 January 1905, in the ninth standard. Bhimrao passed the matriculation examination from this school in 1907. He was the first Untouchable to pass this examination. It was during this period that Bhimrao developed a fondness for reading.

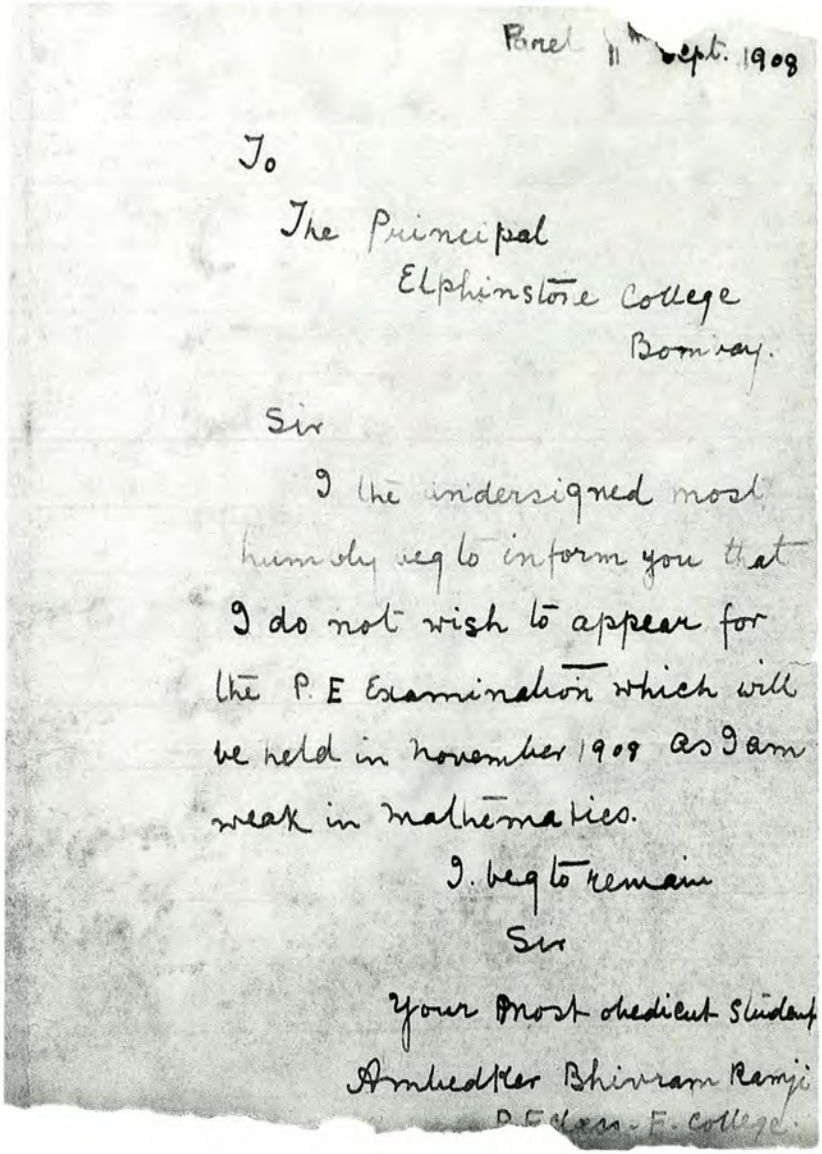


ROLL-CALL OF THE ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE FOR THE MONTH OF

Classical Language.	Consecutive Number.	NAMES. ° Denotes a College Scholar.
		January, 1908.
		PREVIOUS CLASS.
F.	1	Albless, B. K. ... ...
F.	2	Alpaivala, S. M. ... ...
P.	3	Ambedkar, B. R. ... ...
P.	4	Anklesaria, J. A ... ...
F.	5	Anklesaria, N. T.... ... ...
S.	6	Asar, R. P. ... ...
P.	7	Bharucha, B. M. ... ...
S.	8	Bhate, S. R. ... ...

Bhimrao's name in the attendance book of Elphinstone College.

Bhimrao was married to Ramabai (nee Ramibai), the daughter of Bhikoo Dhotre-Wanandkar, in 1907 in Mumbai. On 3 January 1908, he entered Elphinstone College. He passed the Bachelor of Arts (BA) examination in 1913.



Parel 11th Sept. 1908

To

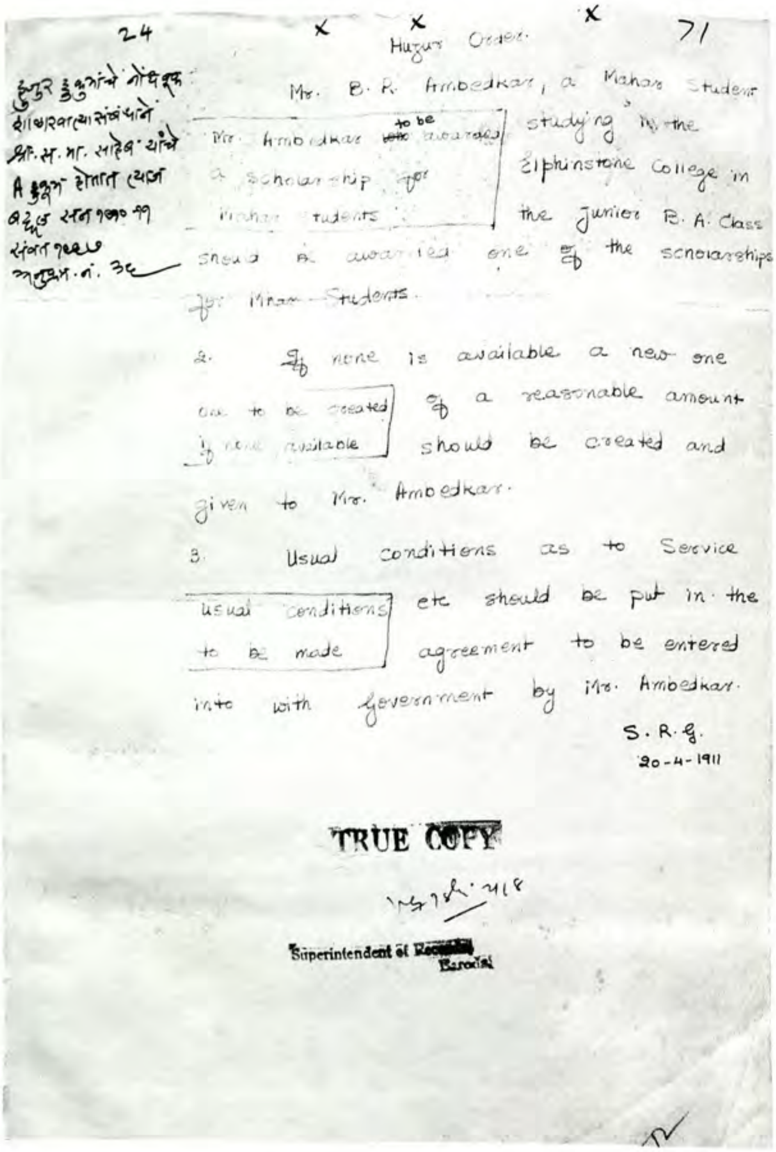
The Principal
Elphinstone College
Bombay.

Sir

I the undersigned most humbly beg to inform you that I do not wish to appear for the P. E Examination which will be held in November 1908 as I am weak in mathematics.

I. beg to remain
Sir
Your most obedient student
Ambedkar Bhivram Ramji
P. E class. E. College.

This is the application dated 11 September 1908, which Bhimrao wrote to the Principal of Elphinstone College asking for exemption of a year from the examination, as he could not prepare for the mathematics paper. This was the same Bhimrao who went on to become an authority on Economics, Law and the Constitution. This is the earliest among Dr. Ambedkar's available letters.



24 × × × 71

Huzur Order.

हुजूर हुकुमांचे नोंदबुक
शाळाखात्यासंबंधाने
श्री.स.मा. साहेब यांचे
हुकूम होतात त्यांचे
सन १९१०-११
संवत १९६७
अनुक्रम नं. ३८

Mr. Ambedkar to be awarded a scholarship for Mahar students

Mr. B. R. Ambedkar, a Mahar Student studying in the Elphinstone College in the Junior B. A. Class should be awarded one of the scholarships for Mahar Students.

One to be created if none available

2. If none is available a new one of a reasonable amount should be created and given to Mr. Ambedkar.

Usual conditions to be made

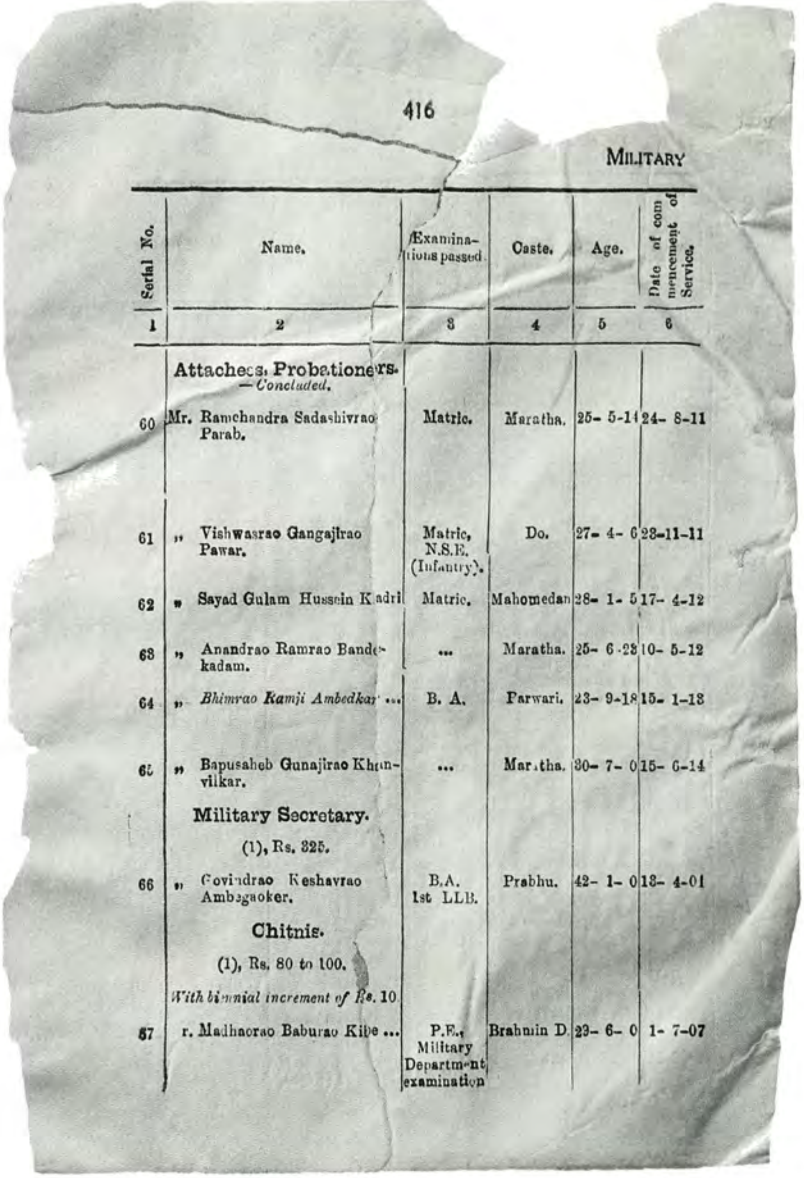
3. Usual conditions as to Service etc should be put in the agreement to be entered into with Government by Mr. Ambedkar.

S. R. G.
20-4-1911

TRUE COPY

Superintendent of Records
Baroda

Due to his narrow means, Subedar Ramji was finding it more and more difficult to pay for Bhimrao's College education. Krishnaji Arjun Keluskar Guruji and the owner of Nirnaysagar printing press, Damodar Savalaram Yande, put in a lot of effort and earned for Bhimrao a scholarship of Rs. 25 per month to pursue college education, from the Maharaja of Baroda Sayajirao Gaekwad in April 1911. This is the photograph of the *Huzoor* order regarding the scholarship.

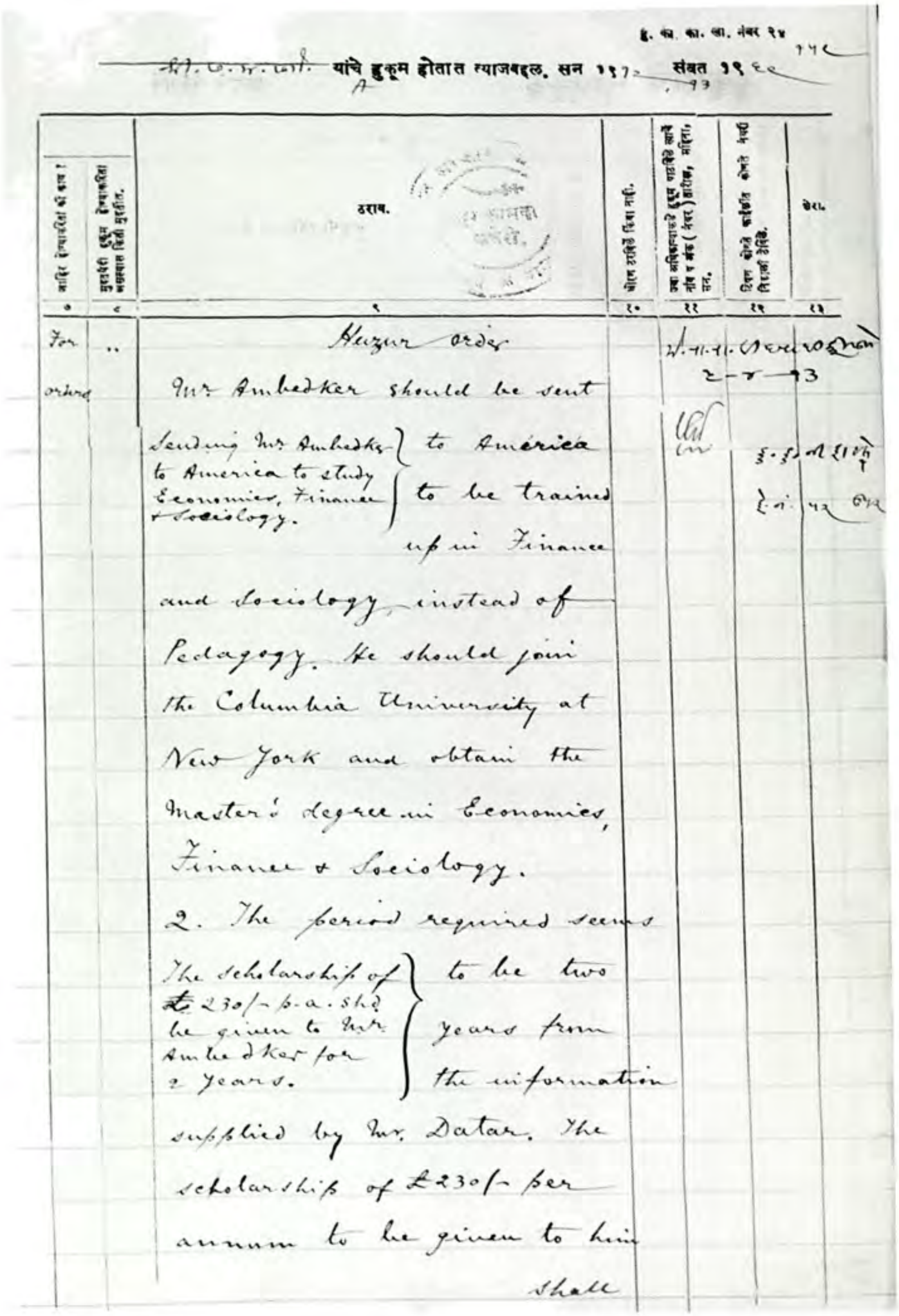


416

MILITARY

Serial No.	Name.	Examinations passed.	Caste.	Age.	Date of commencement of Service.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Attachees, Probationers. —*Concluded.*				
60	Mr. Ramchandra Sadashivrao Parab.	Matric.	Maratha.	25- 5-14	24- 8-11
61	" Vishwasrao Gangajirao Pawar.	Matric, N.S.E. (Infantry).	Do.	27- 4- 6	28-11-11
62	" Sayad Gulam Hussein Kadri	Matric.	Mahomedan	28- 1- 5	17- 4-12
63	" Anandrao Ramrao Bande-kadam.	...	Maratha.	25- 6-28	10- 5-12
64	" *Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar* ...	B. A.	Parwari.	23- 9-18	15- 1-13
65	" Bapusaheb Gunajirao Khanvilkar.	...	Maratha.	30- 7- 0	15- 6-14
	Military Secretary.				
	(1), Rs. 325.				
66	" Govindrao Keshavrao Ambegaoker.	B.A. 1st LLB.	Prabhu.	42- 1- 0	18- 4-01
	Chitnis.				
	(1), Rs. 80 to 100.				
	With biennial increment of Rs. 10.				
67	Mr. Madhaorao Baburao Kibe ...	P.E., Military Department examination	Brahmin D.	23- 6- 0	1- 7-07

Bhimrao passed the BA examination and much against his father's wishes, went to Baroda to fulfil the terms of the scholarship contract. There he joined the office of the Accountant General, Military Department (First Infantry) on 15 January 1913. This photograph shows the entry from the records of the State of Baroda. Bhimrao had to return to Mumbai on 2 February after getting the news of his father's illness. His father passed away the same day.



For orders

Huzur order

Mr Ambedker should be sent to America to be trained up in Finance and Sociology, instead of Pedagogy. He should join the Columbia University at New York and obtain the Master's degree in Economics, Finance & Sociology.

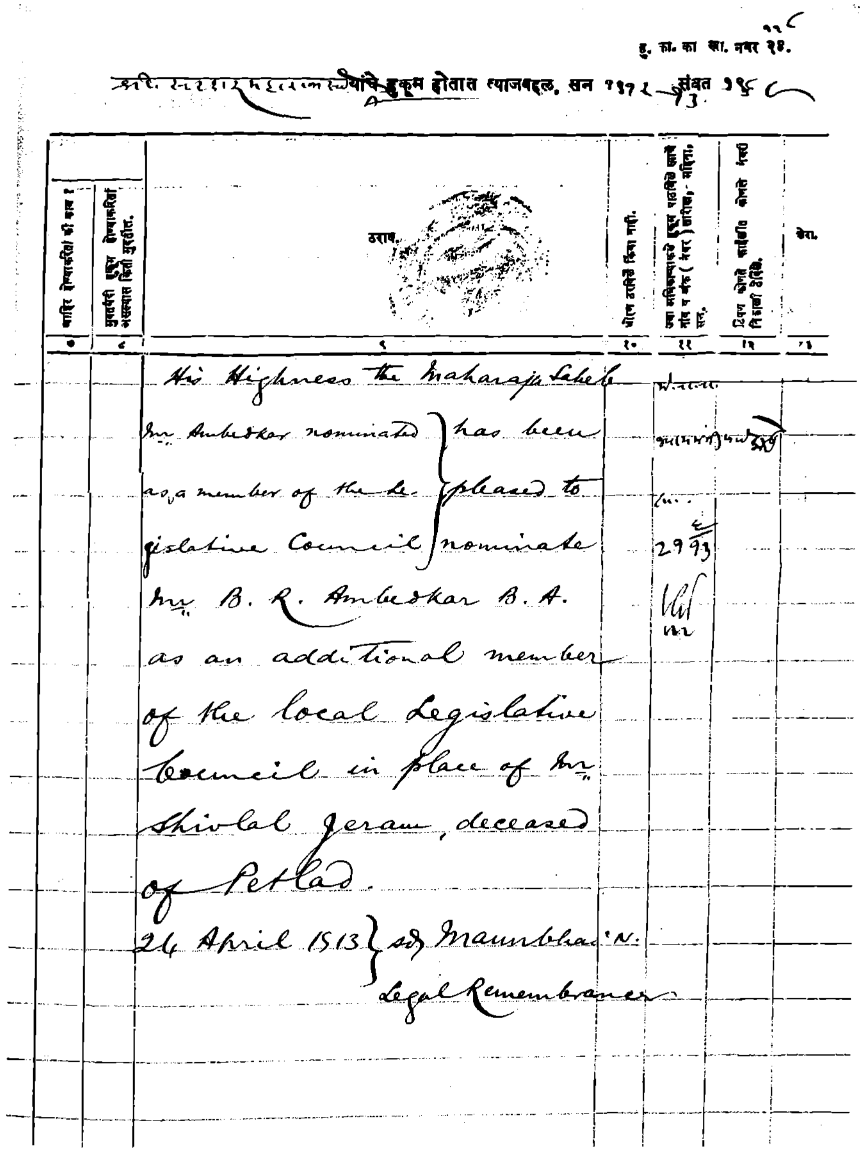
Sending Mr Ambedkar to America to study Economics, Finance & Sociology.

2. The period required seems to be two years from the information supplied by Mr. Datar. The scholarship of £230/- per annum to be given to him shall

The scholarship of £230/- p.a. shd be given to Mr Ambedker for 2 years.

The *Huzoor* order dated 5 April 1913, from the records of the State of Baroda regarding the scholarship awarded to Bhimrao for pursuing higher education at Columbia University in the USA.

Bhimrao had applied for the scholarship on Maharaj Sayajirao's suggestion. He received a scholarship of £ 230 per annum, for the period from 15 June 1914 to 14 June 1916. Later the period of the scholarship was extended by one year (to 14 June 1917), as requested by Bhimrao. According to the contract signed between Bhimrao and the State of Baroda on 4 June 1913, Bhimrao was required to serve the State of Baroda for 10 years after completion of education.



This is the entry dated 24 April 1913, in the records of the State of Baroda, regarding the appointment of Bhimrao as additional member of the Legislative Council of Baroda. Sayajirao Maharaj appointed Bhimrao on the seat in the Council which had fallen vacant after the death of Shivlal Jeram (Petlad, district Kheda). This order probably never came into effect as Bhimrao left for the USA on 20 July 1913.

TRANSCRIPT OF RECORD

Columbia University in the City of New York

ONE COPY OF A STUDENT'S RECORD IS FURNISHED FREE OF CHARGE. A DUPLICATE OF THIS RECORD WILL COST ONE DOLLAR.

Name: AMBEDKAR, BHIMRAO RAMRAO

Enrolled in: GRADUATE FACULTIES
Admitted: JULY 1913
Candidate for: a higher degree

BASIS OF ADMISSION

B.A.Degree-Elphinstone College
Bombay, India 1912

Number of points required for graduation: 30 for A.M. / 60 for PH.D.

A.M.Degree Conferred June 2, 1915
PH.D.Degree Conferred June 8, 1927

Remarks: Dissertation: The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India.

ENTRANCE DEFICIENCIES:

RECORD IN THE UNIVERSITY

STUDENT COPY
UNOFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT

→ On transcripts of Graduate, University Extension and Summer Session students, the value of the course is given under "Points" regardless of the grade assigned.

COURSES	Points: Win. Ses.	Points: Spr. Ses.	Points: Sum. Ses.	Grades: Winter Session	Grades: Spring Session	Grades: Summer Session	DESCRIPTIVE TITLES
Summer 1913							
Economics s112			(H)			NC	Money and Banking
Sociology s102			F			H	Principals of Sociology-Historical
Economics s120			(H)			NC	Corporation Finance
Summer 1914							
Economics s205			H			H	Modern Economic Theories
Sociology s102			F			H	Principals of Sociology-Historical
Economics s125			H			H	The Classical Economists
Summer 1915							
French sA1			2			H	Elementary Course
German sA1			(2)			NC	Elementary Course
1913-1914							
Economics 101-102	F	F		P	P		Science of Finance
Economics 125	F			P			The Economic Problems of Germany
Economics 201	F			P			Econ.Readings:Classical English Economists
Economics 207	F			P			Principals & Methods of Statistics
Economics 210		F					Social Statistics
Economics 204		F					History of Economics since Adam Smith
Sociology 151	F			P			Principals of Sociology- Analytical
Sociology 256		F					Social Statistics
Economics 206		F					Economic Theory
Economics 106		F					The Trust & Corporation Problem
Economics 205	F						Economic Theory
Economics 114		F			P		Marx & Post-Marxian Socialism
Economics 104		F			Abs		Commerce & Commercial Policy
Economics 304		H			P		Seminar in Political Economy & Finance
Sociology 258		F					The Theory of Social Evolution
Economics 303	H			P			Seminar in Political Economy & Finance
History 226		F					The Protestant Revolt

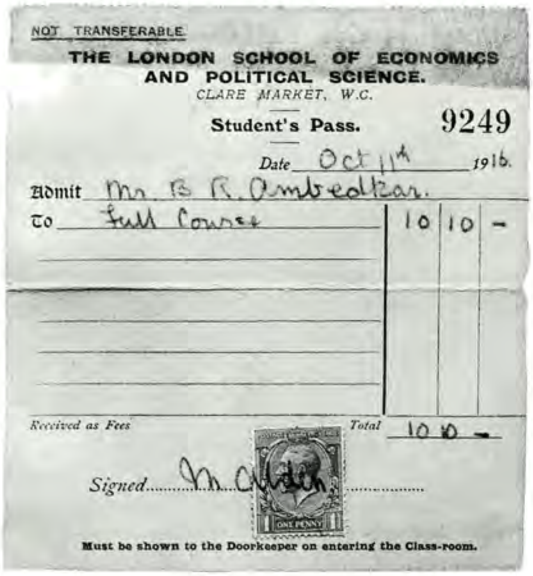
NOTE—For definition of grades and units of value and explanation of symbols see reverse side.

The undersigned certifies that the above is a correct copy of the record of the student whose name appears on this transcript.

Date: MAR 24 1965

EDWARD J. GRANT, Registrar
EDWARD B. FOX, Assistant Registrar
JOHN M. MULLINS, Assistant Registrar

Form Tr. 11—July 1947—3,000



NOT TRANSFERABLE.
THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.
CLARE MARKET, W.C.
Student's Pass. 9249
Date Oct 11th 1916.
Admit Mr. B. R. Ambedkar.
To Full Course 10 10 –
Received as Fees Total 10 10 –
Signed M. C[...]
Must be shown to the Doorkeeper on entering the Class-room.



No 3347 Grays Inn Nov. 11 1916
Received of B. R. Ambedkar Esq. for the Honourable Society of Grays Inn, the sum of Fifty pounds — shillings and — pence: for being the amount of a deposit made on admission and returnable on call to the Bar
£50 0 0
S.W. Dummeis
Chf. Clerk

After completing his studies in Columbia University, Dr. Ambedkar entered the London School of Economics and Political Science, to study Economics. He simultaneously began studying for the degree of Barrister-at-Law at Gray's Inn (October 1916). This is a photograph of related documents.

⋘ Dr. Ambedkar's grade transcript from Columbia University.

He studied there from 1913 till 1916. He majored in Economics with Sociology, History, Philosophy, Anthropology and Political Science as the subsidiary subjects in the Political Science Department. For the Master of Arts (MA) degree he wrote the dissertation titled, *The Administration and Finance of the East India Company* (15 May 1915), which was accepted by the University and the MA degree was conferred upon him (2 June 1915). Later he presented the thesis *The National Dividend of India—A Historical and Analytical Study* to the same University for the degree of PhD (1916). This thesis was later published under the title, *The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India: A study in the Provincial Decentralisation of Imperial Finance* by P. S. King and Company, London (1925). Dr. Ambedkar was awarded the doctorate on 8 June 1927.

હુ. કા. ક. ખા. નં. ૨૫ P. 27

હુજૂર હુકમનો નમુનો (નિ. ૧).

૧ ખાતાનું નામ Dewan.

૨ ટિપ્પણનો નંબર, તારીખ

૩ ટિપ્પણની બાબત

હુ. કા. ક. Dewan ખા. ખા. હુ. હુ. અં. A/10

હુજૂર હુકમ.

His Highness the Maharaja Saheb has been pleased to order that :----

Mr. Ambedkar will get: Rs.150 p.m.

(1) Mr. B.R. Ambedkar, who after his return from America, has been attached to the Accountant General's Office as a Probationer, will get Rs.150/- p.m. at present. He should pass the Revenue Departmental Examinations, when he will be absorbed in the regular grade.

A gift of Rs.300/- is given: to Mr. Ambedkar.

(2) His Highness the Maharaja Saheb has been graciously pleased to give him Rs.300/- as a gift to cover the loss he has sustained through his luggage being sunk. This money will be paid from the Khangi Department. This is in addition of Rs 400/- paid to him before.

Simla, Sayaji Rao

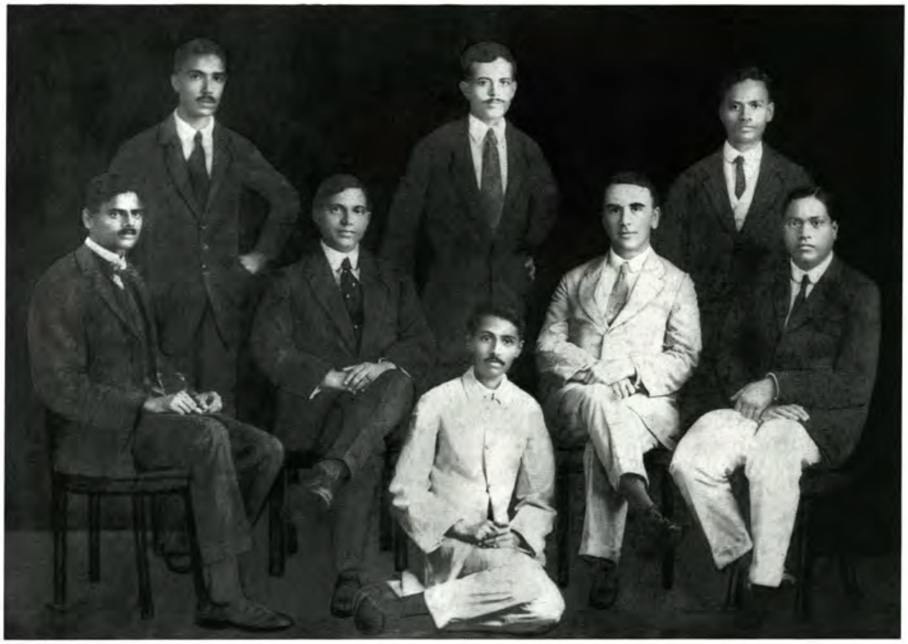
21 September 1917.

2[illegible] 29/9/17 1073

Copy of the addition in this H.O. has been sent to the Dewan Office today.
24-9-17

The *Huzoor* order of the State of Baroda regarding the appointment of Dr. Ambedkar in the office of the Accountant-General.

This was the second time that he worked for the State of Baroda to fulfil the terms of the scholarship agreement. Dr. Ambedkar met Maharaj Sayajirao on 31 August 1917, in Baroda. During his stay abroad, Dr. Ambedkar had lived frugally and saved to buy books. Unfortunately, the ship bringing the book collection to India sank. The Maharaj made good the loss by paying Dr. Ambedkar Rs. 300. This is also entered in the *Huzoor* order. In Baroda, Dr. Ambedkar had to face humiliation because of his being an Untouchable. He could not find a place to live. His colleagues at the office were un-cooperative and disrespectful. Distressed at the treatment meted out to him, Dr. Ambedkar returned to Mumbai in November 1917. Thereafter, he never set foot in Baroda.



On 1 October 1918, Dr. Ambedkar was appointed as temporary Professor of Economics at Sydenham College, Mumbai, with a salary of Rs. 450 per month. He joined the college on 10 November 1918. In the photograph, Dr. Ambedkar is seen with the Principal of the College, Percy Anstey and other teaching staff (1918–19).

On 27 January 1919, while working as a professor, Dr. Ambedkar deposed before the Southborough Committee, on behalf of the Depressed Classes.



मूकनायक

काय करूं आतां धरूनियां भीड । निःशंक हें तोंड वाजविलें ॥
नव्हे जगीं कोणी मुकीयांचा जाण । सार्थक लाजून नव्हे हित ॥

वर्ष १ लें.] मुंबई, शनिवार ता. १४ फेब्रुवारी १९२०. [अंक २ रा.

मूकनायक.

स्वराज्याची सर सुराज्याला नाहीं !

आजवर ज्ञात असलेल्या भूगोलाकडे राजकीय दृष्टीनें पाहिलें असतां त्यांतील देशांचे आपणाला एक स्वयंशासित व दुसरा परशासित असे दोन मुख्य वर्ग करितां येतात. स्वयंशासित देशांतील कारभार त्या देशांत राहणाऱ्या लोकांकडेच असतो. पण परशासित देशाची स्थिति तशी नसते. त्यांचा राज्यकारभार परदेशांतील लोकांच्या हातीं असतो. अशा या वर्गीकरणांत हिंदुस्थान देशाचा अंतर्भाव दुसऱ्या वर्गांत होतो. या देशांत रहाणारे हिंदु, मुसलमान, पारशी वगैरे लोक जरी आहेत तरी त्यांना हिंदी लोक या सर्वसाधारण नांवानें संबोधितां येईल; पण या हिंदी लोकांवर राजकीय अमल चालविणारे लोक मात्र हिंदी नाहींत म्हणजे हिंदी लोक स्वयंशासित नाहींत. आज बरेच दिवसांपासून हिंदुस्थान हा देश परकीय अमलाखालीं आहे. हा सुपीक देश काबीज करून घेण्यास बऱ्याच जुन्या पाश्चात्य राष्ट्रांनीं अनेकवार प्रयत्न केले. रोमन व ग्रीक लोकांनींहि या दिशेनें प्रयत्न केला, तो विफल झाला, पण मुसलमान लोकांनीं केलेल्या प्रयत्नांस जबर फळ आलें. जरी मुसलमान लोकांच्या हिंदुस्थानावरील स्वाऱ्यांस इ. स. ९८६ त सुरवात झाली तरी त्यांना या देशांत कायमचें ठाणें मिळण्यास बराच अवधि लागला. पृथ्वीराज जेव्हां ११९३ मध्यें लढाईंत मरण पावला तेव्हां हिंदुबादशाहीचें दिल्लीचें तक्त कायमचें मोकळें पडलें. ज्या पठाण लोकांनीं ही गादी बळकाविली त्यांचा १५२६ मध्यें पानिपत येथें मोगललोकांचा अधिपति बाबर यानें पराभव करून दिल्ली येथें हिंदुस्थानचा बादशाहा अशी आपल्या नांवानें द्वाही फिरविली. पण स्थापन होऊन दोनशें वर्षांच्या आंतच दिल्लीचें हिंदुतक्त जिंकलेल्या या मुसलमानी सार्वभौम सत्तेला उतरती कळा लागली. कांहीं काळ ती सत्ता दक्षिणेंतील मराठे लोकांकडे होती, पण शेवटीं ती कायमची इंग्रजांच्या हातीं गेली, व तेथें ती दैविक योजनेनें आजतागायत अबाधित आहे. अशी या देशाच्या पारतंत्र्याची पूर्वपीठिका आहे.

राज्यकारणाचे सर्वसाधारण असे दोन आद्य हेतु आहेत. एक शासन व दुसरा संस्कृति. शासन म्हणजे शिस्त अगर शांतता ठेवणें. शांततेचा भंग दोन तऱ्हेनें होऊं शकतो. परचक्रामुळें किंवा अंतस्थ अस्वस्थतेमुळें. परचक्राची बाब—आणि ती कचित् उद्भवते—बाजूस ठेवली तर शासनांत अंतस्थ व्यवस्था ठेवणें हाच प्रधान हेतु होऊन बसतो. कोणतेंहि राष्ट्र घेतलें तर त्यांत वर्ग व तट हे असावयाचेच, इतकेंच नव्हे, तर वर्गावर्गांचे तसेच व्यक्तींचे सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजकीय व धार्मिक हितसंबंध परस्परविरोधी असतात. अशा विरोधामुळें एका व्यक्तीनें किंवा वर्गानें आपला चांगभले करण्यासाठीं दुसऱ्या व्यक्तीवर किंवा वर्गावर चरण्यास सुरवात केली किंवा जिवास घात किंवा मिळकतीस नुकसान करण्यास किंवा अन्य तऱ्हेनें अपाय करण्यास सुरवात केली तर अंतस्थ शांततेचा भंग होण्याचा संभव असतो; आणि शांततेशिवाय सामाजिक जीवन धोक्याचें होऊन मानवांत नित्य होत असलेला कार्यक्रम बंद पडतो. अशामुळें शासन हा जरी महत्वाचा हेतु आहे तरी नुसतें शासन करणाऱ्या—म्हणजे प्रजेस अमुक करूं नका व करून शांतता मोडल्यास दंड होईल असें बजावणाऱ्या—राज्यपद्धतीला हल्लींच्या काळीं तारतम्यानें रानटी म्हणावी लागेल. सुधारलेल्या राष्ट्रांतील राज्यपद्धतीचा कल जितका शासनाकडे असतो तितकाच संस्कृतीकडेहि असतो. आहे त्यापेक्षां प्रजेची उन्नति अधिक कशी होईल याचे मार्ग आंखणें, तिचीं साधनें सर्वांना सारखीं उपलब्ध करून देणें, उन्नतीस अनुकूल अशी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न करणें हा राज्य करण्याचा दुसरा हेतु शासनाइतका किंबहुना अधिक महत्वाचा होऊन बसला आहे.

The second issue of the fortnightly paper *Mooknayak.*

Dr. Ambedkar felt the need to bring out a periodical to usher in an awakening of thought among the Untouchable Classes. Using the funds provided by Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj, he started *Mooknayak* on 31 January 1920.

दक्षिण महाराष्ट्रांतील बहिष्कृत वर्गाची परिषद.

बैठक पहिली.

वरील परिषदेची पहिली बैठक मुकाम माणगांव संस्थान कागल येथें ता. २१।२२ मार्च सन १९२०इ. रोजीं भरली होती. पहिला दिवस पाडव्याचा होता तरी पण सभेस जवळजवळ पांच हजारांवर समुदाय जमला होता. याहीपेक्षां जास्त समुदाय जमला असता परंतु आजुबाजूंच्या कित्येक खेड्यापाड्यांतील बहिष्कृत लोकांची कुळकर्णी, तलाठी वगैरे लोकांनीं अशी समजूत करून दिली कीं, ही सभा बाट्या लोकांची असून अध्यक्ष देखील बाटलेलेच आहेत. यास्तव अशा सभेस जाणें अप्रशस्त आहे. असें सांगून बऱ्याच लोकांचीं मनें या सभेबद्दल कलुषित केलीं होतीं. सभेस कोल्हापूर दरबारांतील वरिष्ठ दर्जाची व बहिष्कृतांची हितेच्छु मंडळी हजर होती. कांहीं थोडे ब्राह्मण गृहस्थही हजर होते; परंतु डिप्रेस्डक्लास मिशन व इतर बहिष्कृतांच्या हितासाठीं झटणाऱ्या कोणत्याही संस्थेचें एक पिलू देखील आलें नव्हतें हें ध्यानांत ठेवण्यासारखें आहे.

दिवस पहिला.

परिषदेच्या कामास ता. २१ रोजीं पांच वाजतां सुरवात झाली. प्रथमत: स्वागतकमिटीचे अध्यक्ष श्री. दादासाहेब राजेसाहेब इनामदार यांचें भाषण झालें. त्यांत त्यांनीं प्रतिनिधींनीं अशा लहानशा खेडेगांवांत सण, वार, घरगुती अडचणी इत्यादि कांहीं न पाहतां सभेस येण्याची तसदी घेतली याबद्दल त्यांचे आभार मानिले. आजच्या परिस्थितीचें वर्णन करून ही परिषद कां बोलावण्यांत आली, याचें दिग्दर्शन केलें. हल्लींच्या स्वराज्याच्या काळांत इतर लोक आपलें बरें करतील असें समजून त्यांच्यावर अवलंबून राहण्यापेक्षां आपल्या स्वजनोद्धाराचें महत्कार्य आपण स्वतःच केलें पाहिजे असें सांगून त्यांनीं आपलें भाषण संपविलें. नंतर रितीप्रमाणें सूचना व अनुमोदन मिळाल्यावर परिषदेचे नियोजित अध्यक्ष श्री. भिमराव आंबेडकर हे टाळ्यांच्या कडकडाटांत स्थानापन्न झाले.

आलें कीं, नैसर्गिक गुण व सानुकूल परिस्थिति हीं दोन उन्नतिचीं आद्य कारणें आहेत. बहिष्कृत वर्गांत नैसर्गिक गुणाची वाण नाहीं. हें सर्वांस मान्य आहे. परंतु त्याचा विकास होत नाहीं याचें मूळकारण त्यांना परिस्थिति सानुकूल नाहीं, हें होय. परिस्थिति सानुकूल करून घेण्यास अनेक उपाय सुचविले जातात; परंतु अध्यक्षांनीं आपण राजकीय सामर्थ्य संपादिलें पाहिजे असें सुचविलें व जातवार प्रतिनिधि मिळाल्याशिवाय आपल्या हातीं राजकीय सामर्थ्य येणार नाहीं असें त्यांनीं सांगितलें. शेवटीं 'सत्यमेव जयते' हें तत्व पोकळ आहे असें सांगून सत्याचा जय होण्यास आपण आपली चळवळ कायम ठेविली पाहिजे असें सांगून त्यांनीं आपलें प्रास्ताविक भाषण संपविलें. नंतर विषयनियामक कमिटी नेमण्यांत येऊन पहिल्या दिवसापुरतें परिषदेचें काम संपलें.

दिवस दुसरा.

परिषदेच्या कामास तीन वाजतां सुरवात झाली त्या प्रसंगीं कोल्हापूरचे महाराजांनीं हजर राहून सर्व बहिष्कृत वर्गास ऋणी करून सोडिलें. आरंभीं ईशस्तवनपर व कोल्हापूर महाराजांच्या स्तुतिपर पद्यें मुलांमुलींनीं गाईल्यानंतर महाराजांचे खालील प्रमाणें भाषण झालें.

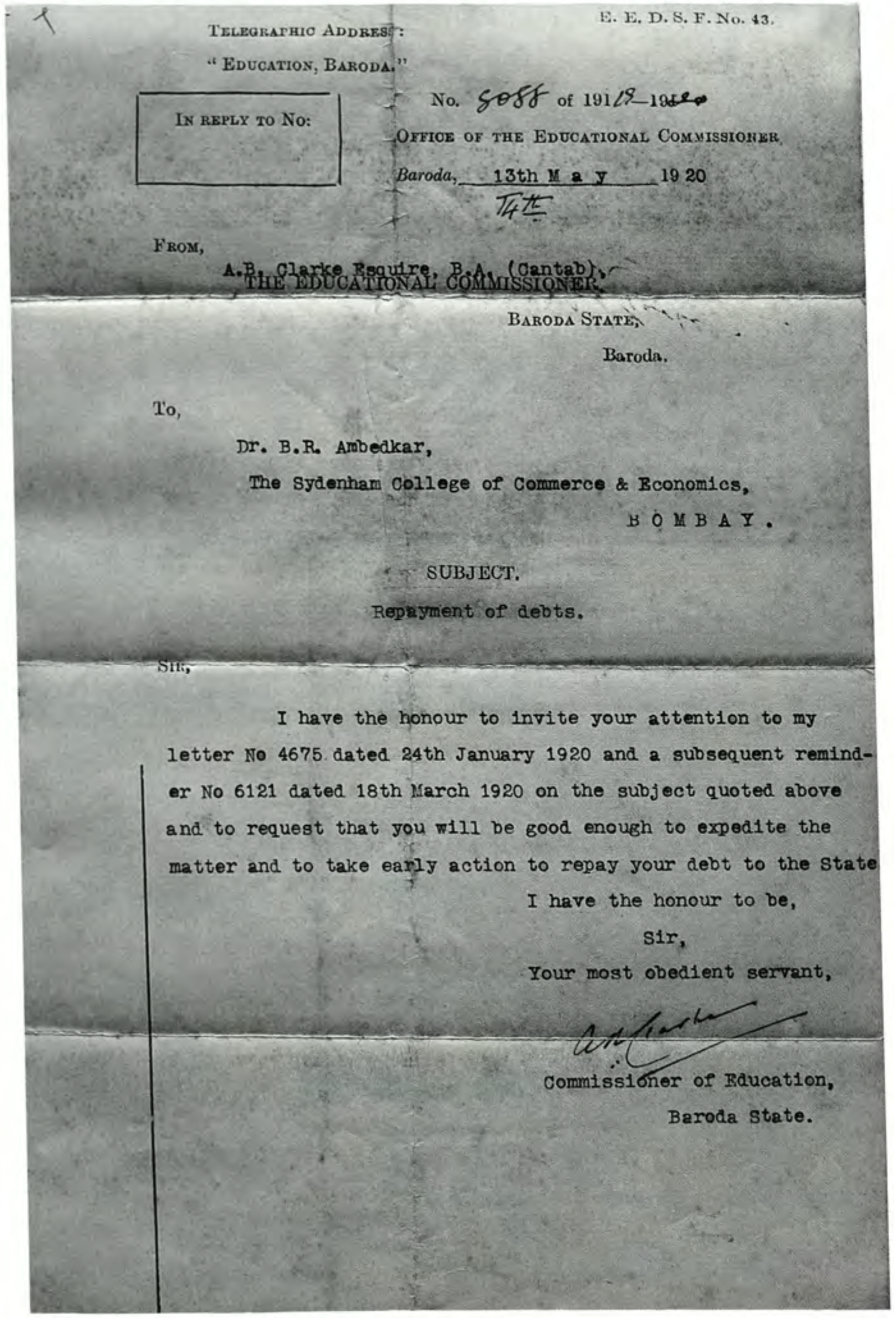
आज माझे प्रिय मित्र आंबेडकर यांनीं या सभेचें अध्यक्षस्थान स्वीकारलें आहे. त्यांच्या भाषणाचा लाभ मला मिळावा म्हणून मी शिकारींतून मुद्दाम येथें आलों आहे. मि. आंबेडकर सर्व मागसलेल्या जातींचा परामर्ष घेतात याबद्दल मी त्यांचें मन:पूर्वक अभिनंदन करितों.

अस्पृश्य लोकांची हजेरी माफ करण्याची बुद्धी मला कां झाली याचें कारण या प्रसंगीं थोडक्यांत सांगावें असें मला वाटतें. हजेरी असल्यामुळें या गरीब लोकांवर गांवकामगार व इतर ऑफिसर्सचा फारच जुलूम होत होता. म्हणजे गांवांत बारा आणे मजूरीचा दर असला तरी गैर हजरीची भीति घालून त्या गरीब लोकांकडून अधिकारी लोक फुकट काम करून घेत होते. फार झालें तर त्यांच्या पोटाला म्हणून कांहीं तरी थोडेसें देत होते.

गुलामगिरीपेक्षांसुद्धां या विसाव्या शतकांत अशी गुलामगिरी चालली आहे! ज्यांना ही हजेरी होती त्यांना त्यामुळें आपल्या जवळचे आप्तइष्ट पै पाहुणे कोणी आजारी पडल्यास त्यांना

On 20–21 March 1920, Dr. Ambedkar presided over a Conference of Untouchables from southern Maharashtra at Mangaon (Kagal) in the State of Kolhapur, held under the aegis of Shahu Maharaj. This Conference marked the beginning of the Ambedkarian movement. Speaking at the conference the Maharaj declared, 'You have found a saviour in Ambedkar. Not only will he emancipate you, but will also one day lead the entire nation.'

Photograph of the news of the Conference in *Mooknayak* (10 April 1920).



E. E. D. S. F. No. 43.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:
"EDUCATION, BARODA."

IN REPLY TO No:

No. 5088 of 1919–1920

OFFICE OF THE EDUCATIONAL COMMISSIONER

Baroda, 13th M a y 1920
14th

FROM,

A.B. Clarke Esquire, B.A. (Cantab),
THE EDUCATIONAL COMMISSIONER,
BARODA STATE,
Baroda.

To,

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar,
The Sydenham College of Commerce & Economics,
B O M B A Y .

SUBJECT.
Repayment of debts.

SIR,

I have the honour to invite your attention to my letter No 4675 dated 24th January 1920 and a subsequent reminder No 6121 dated 18th March 1920 on the subject quoted above and to request that you will be good enough to expedite the matter and to take early action to repay your debt to the State

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

A.B. Clarke

Commissioner of Education,
Baroda State.

A letter dated 14 May 1920, written by the Commissioner of Education, Government of Baroda, to Dr. Ambedkar, asking him to return the amount of scholarship paid to him by the State, as he had failed to fulfil the terms of the contract.

#v

K O T i.A H m .j

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ll;/ dear Sir Alfred Pease,

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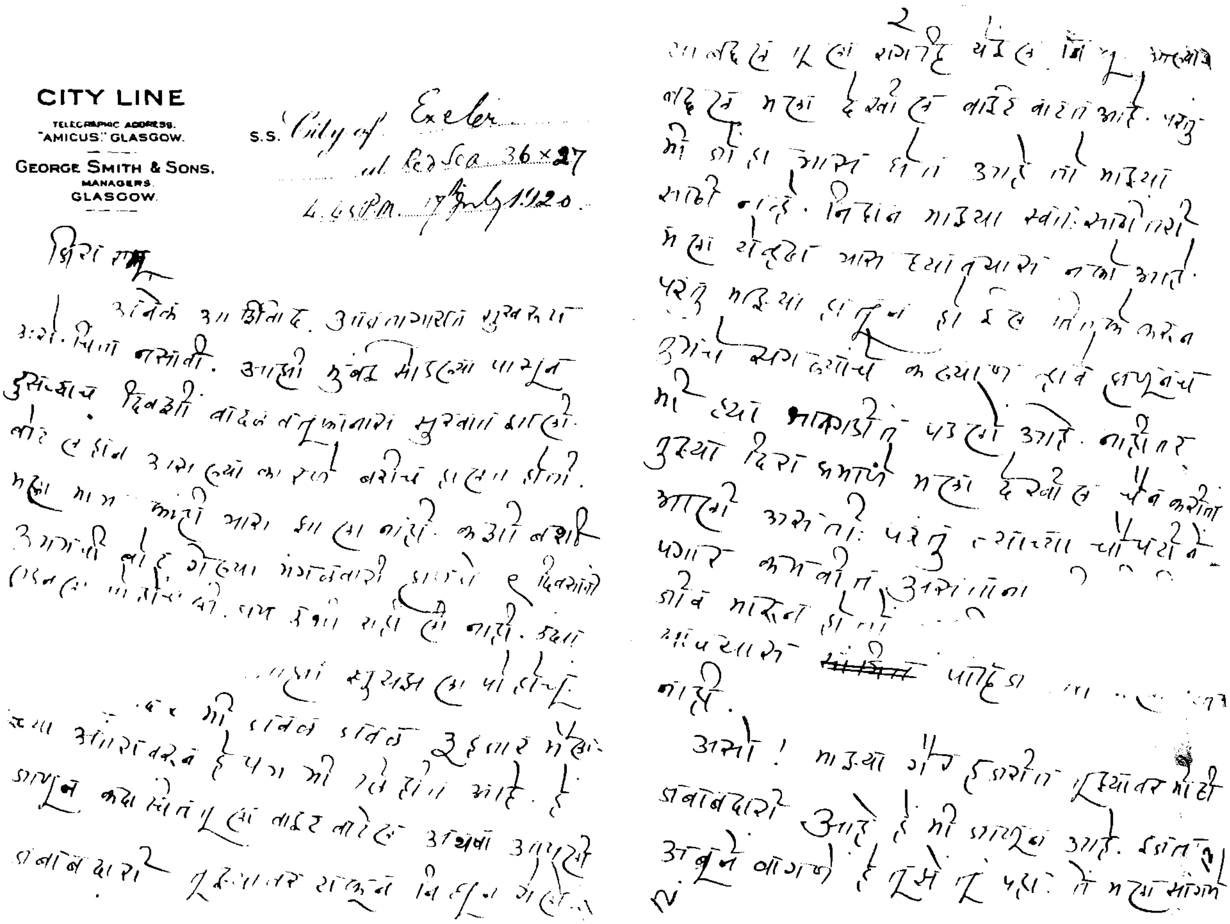
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'i V 1

Finding the times turning favourable, Dr. Ambedkar resigned from Sydenham College (Mumbai) on ii March 1920 and -went to London on 5 July 1920 to resume his studies. He carried a letter (23 June 1920) from Shahu Maharaj addressed to his progressive friend in London, Alfred Pease asking him to help Dr. Ambedkar in every way as he was the right candidate, to put before the British Liberals the condition of *non-Brahmins* and the domination by *Brahmins* in India. A part of the letter is shown here.



CITY LINE

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS. "AMICUS" GLASGOW.

GEORGE SMITH & SONS, MANAGERS. GLASGOW.

S.S. City of Exeter

4.45 PM. 17 July 1920.

The letter dated 17 July 1920, written by Dr. Ambedkar from London to his wife Ramabai.

While Ambedkar was busy with his studies and social work, Ramabai looked after the family. She lived in a state of extreme destitution. In this letter Dr. Ambedkar writes, 'I am aware of the responsibility I have placed on you. Conduct yourself uprightly… Do not pick fights with anyone, do not accept anything from anyone for safekeeping…' The most interesting part of the letter is where he writes, 'Do not let anyone touch my books'.

R-13420

c/o Henry S. King & Co
9 Pall Mall
London S.W.
4th September 19

My dear Maharaja saheb,

As directed by Mr Dalvi I am placing my financial difficulties before you in the hope of getting some relief. But I am sorry to have to approach you but thinking that y. as y had been pleased to regard me as your friend y would something to enable me to tide over my difficulties. They have chiefly arisen through the fall in the Indian Exchange on London. When I left India I had calculated the total expe[nses] I would have to incur for my two years' st[ay] in London and according to the then prevailing rate of exchange I found that I had sufficien[t] funds for my purposes. But as the funds ha[d] invested by a friend with whom I had deposit[ed] them I was not able to transfer them to London at the time when I left India. Last year

In London, Dr. Ambedkar was short of funds. Artist Dattoba Dalvi asked him to seek help from Shahu Chhatrapati. In this letter dated 4 September 1921, Dr. Ambedkar requested Shahu Maharaj to help him financially.



Dr. Ambedkar with his classmates and professors from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

He passed the MSc examination here in June 1922. Later, Dr. Ambedkar submitted his thesis titled *The Problem of the Rupee* to the University of London for the degree of Doctor of Science. As the decision of the examiners was bound to take five to six months, he decided to study meanwhile for doctorate in some other well-known academic centre in Europe. He secured admission to the University of Bonn in Germany on 10 May 1922. As he was working on his thesis there, he was called back to London by his professor Edwin Cannon, as the members of the examining committee had refused to accept the thesis. Dr. Ambedkar returned to London in February 1923. On 23 August 1923, Dr. Ambedkar sent his thesis, *The Problem of the Rupee* to the University after making some changes in it. For this thesis he was awarded the degree of DSc of the University of London (November 1923).

Wohnung: Bonn, Wilhelmstr. 58 Nr. des Albums 643

G. Datiert 191

~~R.~~

~~D.~~ Ausgeh. Obersandt am 191 nach:

WIR REKTOR UND SENAT

DER

RHEINISCHEN FRIEDRICH-WILHELMS-UNIVERSITÄT

ZU

BONN

beurkunden durch dieses Abgangs-Zeugnis, daß Herr

Bhimrao Ranji Ambedkar

geboren zu ~~Mhow Moh~~ Mhow

wohnhaft in Bombay ~~Reg.-Bez.~~ in Indien

auf Grund eines Abgangs-Zeugnisses von der Universität

vom 28 April 1921 bis

als Studierender der ~~Rechtswissenschaft~~ Volkswirtschaft

an der hiesigen Universität immatrikuliert gewesen ist.

Während dieses Aufenthaltes hat er bei unserer Universität die im angehefteten Anmeldebuch verzeichneten Vorlesungen den Bestimmungen gemäß vorschriftsmäßig an- bezw. abgemeldet. Die Vorlesungen, bei denen dies nicht zutrifft, sind gestrichen.

Bemerkungen: 1,60 [illegible]

Ministerielle Genehmigung vom 19. 4. 21. U I 21551

Gelöscht wegen Nichtangabe der Wohnung am

„ „ Nichtausfüllung der Zählkarte am

„ „ Nichtannahme von Vorlesungen am 12/1 22

„ ohne Bekanntmachung am

Sekretariat der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität.

Bonn, den

Postkarte.

Herrn

B. R. Ambedkar

London NW 3

10 King Henry's Road

~~[illegible]~~

Portopflichtige Dienstsache!

[illegible]

Postkarte

Bonn

14/1

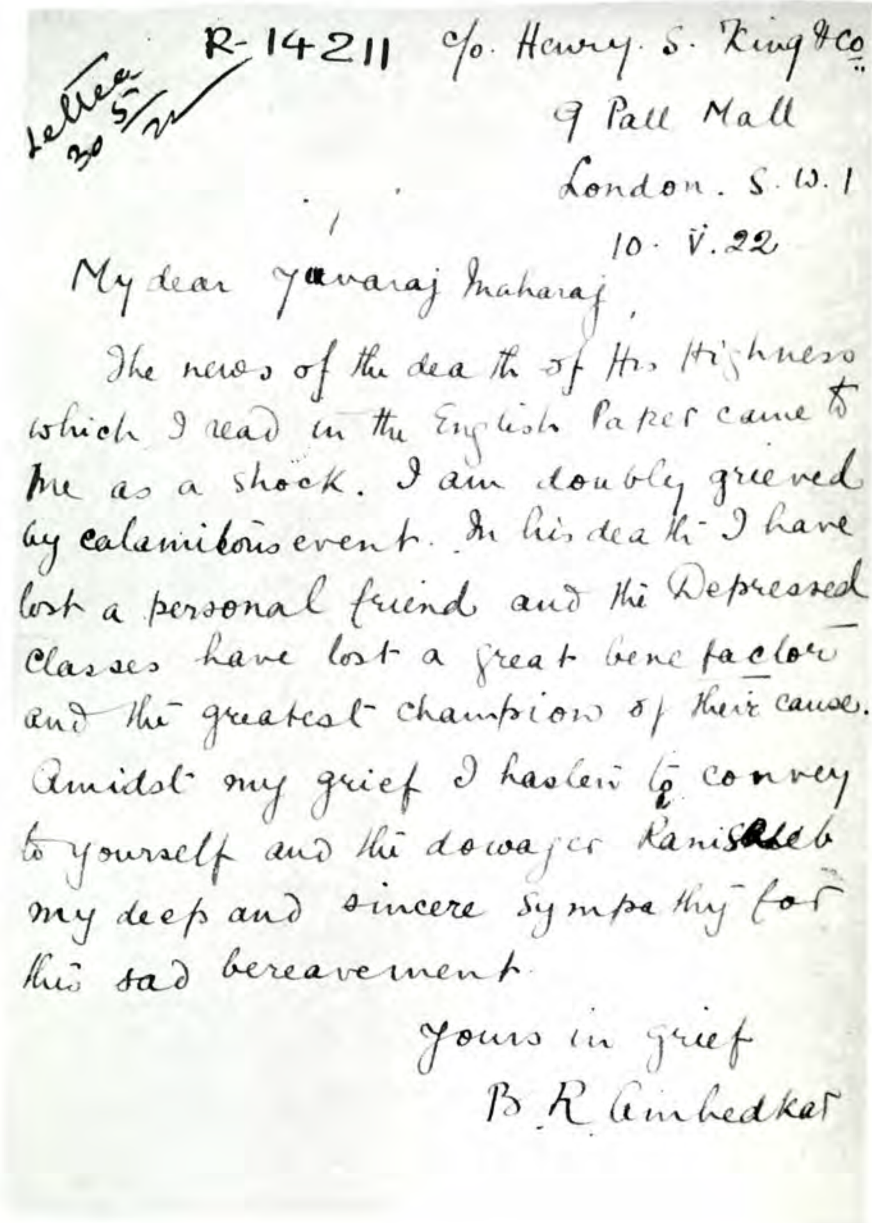
Herrn stud. [illegible] B. R. Ambedkar

~~[illegible]~~

~~Bonn~~

Wilhelmstr. 58

Documents regarding Dr. Ambedkar's admission to Bonn University in 1922. He could not finish the course there because of other engagements.



Letter 30/5/22

R-14211 c/o. Henry. S. King & Co.
9 Pall Mall
London. S.W.1
10. V.22

My dear Yuvaraj Maharaj,

The news of the death of His Highness which I read in the English Paper came to me as a shock. I am doubly grieved by calamitous event. In his death I have lost a personal friend and the Depressed Classes have lost a great benefactor and the greatest champion of their cause. Amidst my grief I hasten to convey to yourself and the dowager Ranisaheb my deep and sincere sympathy for this sad bereavement.

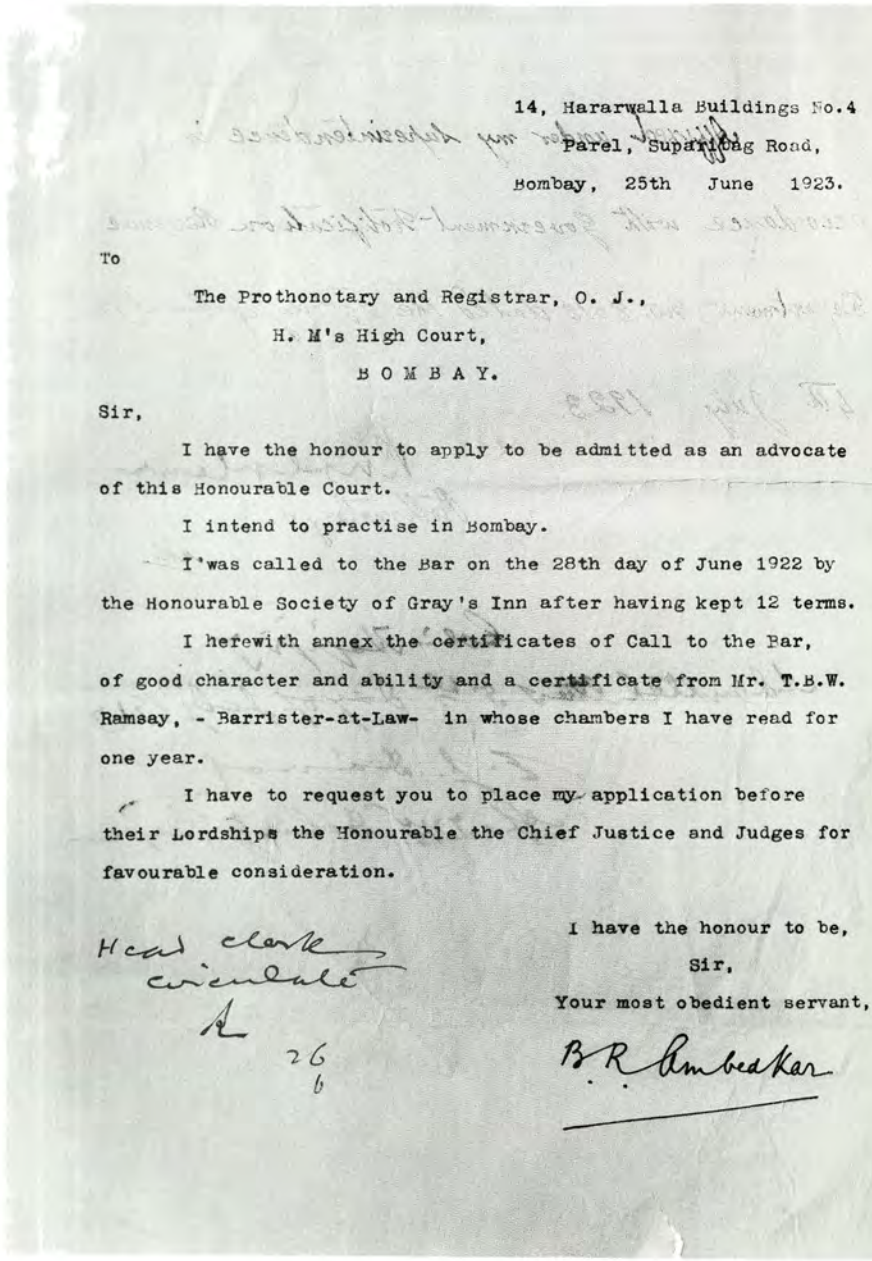
Yours in grief
B.R. Ambedkar

Shahu Maharaj passed away in Mumbai on 6 May 1922. Dr. Ambedkar read the news in a London newspaper. This is the letter of condolence that he wrote to Yuvaraj Rajaram Maharaj on 10 May, expressing his grief at losing a dear friend and a staunch supporter of the movement of the Depressed Classes.

On 28 June 1922, Gray's Inn, London awarded Dr. Ambedkar the degree of Barrister-at-Law. Dr. Ambedkar returned to India on 14 April 1923 to attend to some domestic problems.

»





14, Hararwalla Buildings No.4
Parel, Suparibag Road,
Bombay, 25th June 1923.

To

The Prothonotary and Registrar, O. J.,
H. M's High Court,
B O M B A Y.

Sir,

I have the honour to apply to be admitted as an advocate of this Honourable Court.

I intend to practise in Bombay.

I was called to the Bar on the 28th day of June 1922 by the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn after having kept 12 terms.

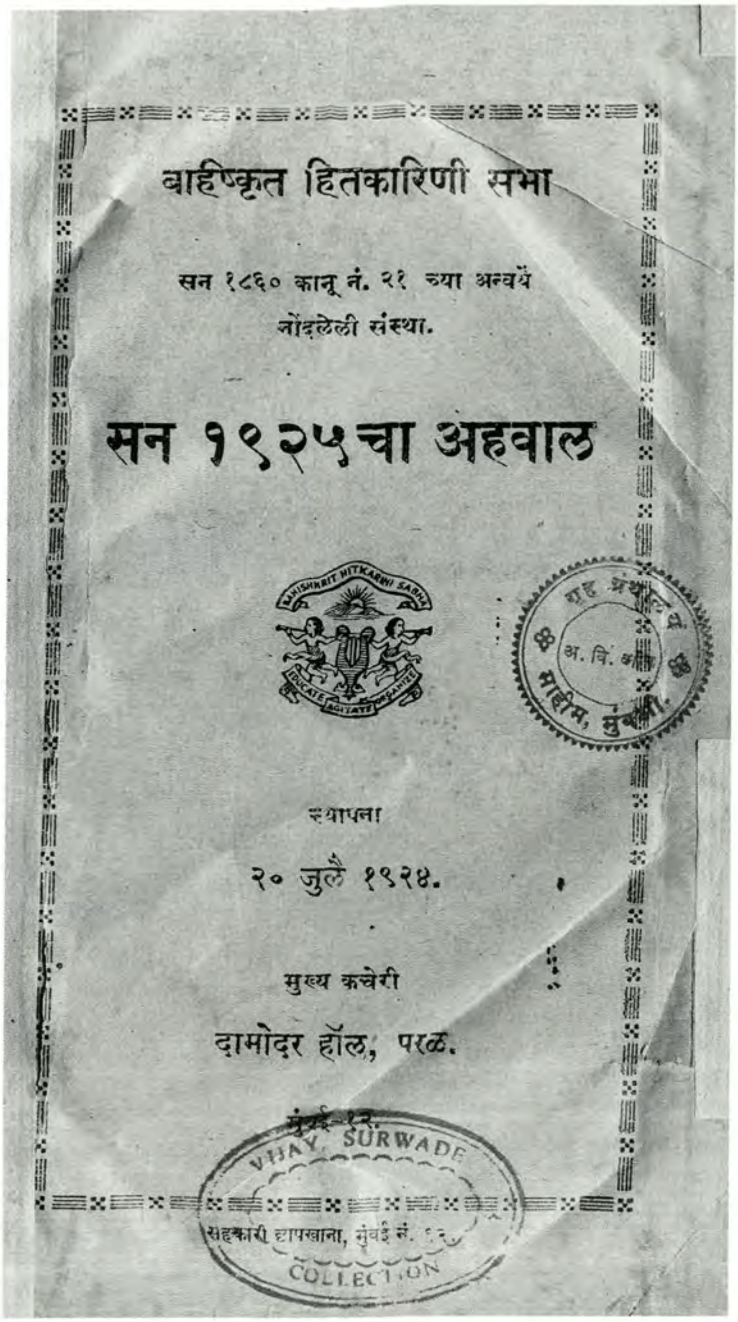
I herewith annex the certificates of Call to the Bar, of good character and ability and a certificate from Mr. T.B.W. Ramsay, - Barrister-at-Law- in whose chambers I have read for one year.

I have to request you to place my application before their Lordships the Honourable the Chief Justice and Judges for favourable consideration.

Head clerk circulate
A
26/6

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
B. R. Ambedkar

Dr. Ambedkar's application dated 25 June 1923, for obtaining *Sanad* to the High Court of Mumbai. He began practising law at Mumbai from 5 July 1923, after obtaining *Sanad.*



The first annual report of the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha.

Dr. Ambedkar convened a meeting on 9 March 1924, at Damodar Hall, Parel, to consider the desirability of forming a central body for placing before the government the social and political difficulties faced by the Untouchables. As was resolved in this meeting, the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha was founded on 20 July 1924. Its President was Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad. Other office bearers were: Dr. Ambedkar—Chairman of the Executive Committee, Sitaram Namdev Shivtarkar—Secretary and Nivritti Tulshidas Jadhav—Treasurer. The aims of the Sabha were to promote the spread of education among the Depressed Classes by opening hostels and by other means, to promote the spread of culture in these classes by opening libraries, social centres and study circles and to improve the economic condition of the Depressed Classes by starting Industrial and Agricultural Schools.

दामोदर हॉल.
परळ.
मुंबई.
२२.९.२९.

रा. रा. तोरणे मास्तर यांस सप्रेम नमस्कार. वि. वि.

आपलें एक कार्ड आलें. आपुलें एक पाकीट आलें. पण त्यांतील पत्र कोठें वाटेंत गळून पडलें होतें. कारण नुसतें पाकीटच हातीं पडलें:
— आज रोज आठवडे आधीं मी तापानें आजारी आहे. त्यामुळें आपल्या पत्रास उत्तर देण्यास झालें नाहीं तरी क्षमा असावी. आपलीही प्रकृति बरी नव्हती हें ऐकून वाईट वाटत होतें. कारण आपल्यांतील सामाजिक चळवळींपैकीं आपण अग्रगण्य आहात. अशांच्या प्रकृतीचें स्वास्थ्य नसणें ही एक समाजावर आपत्तीच आहे त्यांचें- चांचों. तरी आपण सुखरूप असाल अशी आशा आहे.

पाक्षिकांतील पत्रें दरवेळच्या उत्तर आपल्याला मंजूर होतात हें कळणें शक्य नाहीं. आपल्या कानांतील मताप्रमाणें सत्यासत्यतेनें नोटीस आहे. हिंदीभाषांतून मुद्दाम पाठविलेलें कोरें आहे. मी कांहीं मुसलमान झालों नाहीं. तसें असें तुम्हांस वाटेल तेव्हां या देवळांत होण्याची कांहीं जरूर नाहीं.

सध्याच्या आयुष्याचा कांहीं ठिकाण करणार नाहीं. माझ्या आयुष्यांतील पैशाची मला आस नाहीं. आतां तोंपर्यंत अस्पृश्य वर्गाच्या हितांकरितांची जबाबदारी घेण्यासारखा दुसरा कोणी तयार झाला नाहीं तोंपर्यंत मला त्यांना सोडतां येत नाहीं.

आपला नम्र,
भिमराव आंबेडकर.

Letter written by Dr. Ambedkar to senior volunteer Haribhau Torane Guruji of Solapur.

In the year 1924, there were rumours of Dr. Ambedkar's conversion to Islam. In the letter, he clarifies his position regarding the rumour.



Dr. Ambedkar and his associates visited the Bhima-Koregaon Vijayastambha on the banks of the river Bhima, near Pune, on 1 January 1927. In the war between the Peshwas and the British forces in 1818, the Peshwas were defeated. A large number of *Mahar* soldiers fought for the British forces and many lost their lives. The *Vijaystambha* was erected by the British Government to commemorate these valiant soldiers. In the photograph with Dr. Ambedkar, First Row (L to R): S. F. Barathe, B. J. Bhosle, S. B. Bhandare, J. S. Ranapise, Dr. P. G. Solanki, Shivram Janba Kamble, K. M. Sonawane and Ramchandra Krishnaji Kadam. Second Row (L to R): P. Waghmare, B. B. Jadhav, Jivappa Lingappa Aidale, S. R. Thorat, K. N. Kadam, A. S. Kamble and K. N. Sonkamble. In a meeting held here, Dr. Ambedkar described the *Mahar* as a community of brave and valiant fighters.

नमुन्याचा अंक.

पाक्षिक पत्र.



[वर्ष १ लें.] मुंबई, रविवार तारीख ३ माहे एप्रिल सन १९२७. [अंक १ ला.

सुबोध वचनें.

[illegible], [illegible], राजा, आणि चोर हे धनाचे चार [illegible]. [illegible] भावांचा (धर्माचा) जेव्हां अपमान होतो तेव्हां त्याचे थोरले तिन्ही बंधु कोपायमान होतात.

* * * * *

मरण समयी पैसा भुईत, गाई म्हशी गोठ्यांतल्या गोठ्यांत, स्त्री घराच्या दारापर्यंत; इष्टमित्र स्मशानापर्यंत; परलोकास जीव एकटाच जाणारा असून, त्या बरोबर [illegible] मात्र येतें.

* * * * *

दुसऱ्यास ताप न करितां, दुष्टांशी नमून न वागतां आणि सत्पास अनुसरून जें मिळेल तें थोडें असलें तरी लाखाच्या जागी होय.

* * * * *

मनुष्य चैनीची वस्तु नसून कर्तव्याची भूमिका आहे.

* * * * *

स्वार्थी मनुष्यास बाप नाहीं व भाऊ नाहीं; कामांधास भय नाहीं व लज्जा नाहीं; बुभुक्षितास बल नाहीं व तेज नाहीं; चिंतातुरास सुख नाहीं व निद्रा नाहीं.

* * * * *

मूर्खास विद्या प्राप्त झाली कीं, तो वादाला उभा [illegible]; धन मिळालें कीं, गर्वानें ताठून जातो; आंगी [illegible] की दुसऱ्यास पीडा करूं लागतो.

* * * * *

पावसाळ्यांत कोकील मौन धरतात हें फार चांगलें करितात; कारण जेथें बेडूक वक्ते झाले तेथें कोकिलांची काय शोभा राहिली? मूर्ख लोकांच्या समाजांत पंडितास मौनच उचित होय.

* * * * *

दिवा [illegible] तेल घालून काय उपयोग? [illegible] सावध रे सावध म्हणून हाकाटी करून [illegible] वय गेल्यावर विषयोपभोगांत काय मौज? [illegible]

आजकालचे प्रश्न.

१ पुणें ट्रेनिंग कॉलेजमध्यें गतवर्षीपर्यंत अभ्यास करीत असलेल्या विद्यार्थ्यांस ब्राह्मण स्वयंपाक्याकडून शिजविलेलें अन्न चालत असे. या २०।२५ वर्षांच्या जुन्या वहिवाटी विरुद्ध गेल्यासाली ब्राह्मणेतर विद्यार्थ्यांनी चळवळ करून आपणांस ब्राह्मणाच्या हातचें जेवण खाण्यास भाग न पाडतां ब्राह्मण ब्राह्मणेतरांची जेवणाची व्यवस्था निराळी करण्यांत यावी अशी मागणी केली. आपल्या मागणीस जोर यावा म्हणून ट्रेनिंग कॉलेजमध्यें शिकत असलेल्या बहिष्कृत विद्यार्थ्यांचा पाठींबा मागण्यात आला. ब्राह्मणेतरांकडून एका हॉलमध्यें तुम्ही आम्ही शेजारी बसून पंगत करूं असें आश्वासन मिळाल्यावर बहिष्कृत विद्यार्थ्यांनी त्यांच्या मागणीस दुजोरा दिला. नंतर वरिष्ठ अधिकारी यांजकडे या बाबतींत ब्राह्मणेतर व बहिष्कृत विद्यार्थ्यांच्या सह्यांनिशीं एक दोन अर्ज रवाना झाले. त्याच सुमारास त्या काळीं शिक्षण मंत्री असलेले भास्करराव जाधव यांनी ट्रेनिंग कॉलेजला भेट दिली. त्यावेळीं विचारपूस करितांना ब्राह्मणेतर विद्यार्थ्यांनी आमचें जेवण स्वतंत्र असावें, आम्हीं बहिष्कृत विद्यार्थ्यांस भोजन हॉलमध्यें एका पंगतीस जेवावयास घेऊं व यास सर्व मागसलेल्या विद्यार्थ्यांचा पाठिंबा आहे असें जाहीर केलें. हें ऐकून शिक्षण मंत्र्यांनीं तुमच्या म्हणण्याप्रमाणें लवकरच व्यवस्था करूं असें आश्वासन दिलें. गेल्या साली आगस्ट १ [illegible] ही जेवणाची नवीन व्यवस्था अमलांत आली. [illegible] घालून त्याचे दोन [illegible] करण्यांत [illegible]

त्याच प्रकारची सूचना न मिळाल्याकारणानें जेव्हां ब्राह्मणेतरांकरितां राखून ठेवलेल्या हॉलमध्यें जेवणाकरितां गेले तेव्हां त्यांना आंत घेण्यांत आलें नाहीं. याचें कारण विचारितां असें सांगण्यांत आलें कीं, [illegible] त्यामुळें तुम्हांस सध्यां [illegible] नेहमींच्या जागेतच जेवा. यावर बहिष्कृतवर्गाच्या विद्यार्थ्यांनी असें सुचविलें कीं, आम्हां सर्व बहिष्कृत विद्यार्थ्यांस आंत बसण्यास [illegible] दिल्यानें जर गर्दी होते तर आमचे कांहीं विद्यार्थी तुमच्या हॉलमध्यें बसून जेवूं द्या व तुमचे कांहीं विद्यार्थी आमच्या जागेंत बसून जेवूं द्या म्हणजे तुम्ही आम्ही केलेल्या श्रमाचें सार्थक होईल व तुम्ही दिलेल्या सहभोजनाच्या वचनाची सत्यता पटेल. [illegible] ब्राह्मणेतर विद्यार्थी कबूल होईनात व [illegible] तुम्ही आपापसांतच एकमेकांच्या पंक्तीस बसत नाहीं तर तुम्हांला आमच्या पंक्तीस बसण्याचा काय हक्क आहे अशी शकल लढवूं लागले. परंतु या युक्तीवादास देखील बहिष्कृतवर्गाच्या विद्यार्थ्यांनीं वाव दिला नाहीं. कारण लगेच नागपंचमीच्या दिवशीं बहिष्कृत समाजांत मोडणाऱ्या सर्व जातींच्या विद्यार्थ्यांनीं मोठ्या आनंदानें एका पंक्तीस बसून ब्राह्मणेतरांचें [illegible] केलें. तरी पण ब्राह्मणेतर विद्यार्थ्यांनीं आपला [illegible]पणा कायम ठेवून बहिष्कृत विद्यार्थ्यांस दिलेलें वचन पाळण्याचें धैर्य दाखविलें नाहीं. "देशाचें नांव व आपला गांव" ही कुटीलनीतिमत्ता ब्राह्मण लोक अमलांत आणतात असा ब्राह्मणेतरांचा ब्राह्मणांवरचा नेहमींचा आरोप बहिष्कृतांना [illegible] जर [illegible] तर त्यांत कांहीं वावगें होणार आहे काय? [illegible] ब्राह्मणेतर चळवळीच्या [illegible] ळीचा पुरस्कार करत [illegible]

संपादक

The first issue of the Marathi fortnightly paper *Bahishkrit Bharat* published on 3 April 1927.

The periodical was started by Dr. Ambedkar with a view to bring about social, educational and political awakening among the Untouchable Classes and as a mouthpiece to voice their grievances. Dr. Ambedkar was its editor. The last issue of *Bahishkrit Bharat* was published on 15 November 1929.

बहिष्कृत हितकारणी सभेच्या विद्यमानें

महाड येथें ता. २५ डीसेंबर सन १९२७ पासुन सुरु होणाऱ्या

सत्याग्रहाच्या पुर्व तयारी करितां.

वि. वि. बहीष्कृत लोकांनी आपल्या न्याय हक्क संरक्षणार्थ चालविलेल्या चळवळीस पाठींबा देण्याकरिता बांद्रे नवी पाली दांडा रोड मंडपांत ता. ११–१२–१९२७ रवीवार रोजीं दिवसा २ वाजता (स्टॅ. टा.) बहीष्कृत भारत पत्राचे संपादक डॉ. भिवराम आर. आंबेडकर एम. ए. पी. एच. डी. डी. एस. सी. बार–अॅट–लॉ. एम. एल. सी. यांच्या अध्यक्षते खाली, जाहिर सभा भरणार आहे. सदरवेळी महाड–सत्याग्रहावर भाषणे होतिल तरि अस्पृश्य बंधु भगिनींनीं अगदी वेळेवर सभेस येण्याची कृपा असावी श्री शिवतरकर, गंगावनें, जाधव वगैरे पुढारि येणार आहेत.

बांद्रे मुक्कामीची कार्यकारि सार्वजनिक मंडळी.

धर्मा महादु हाटीवटे मु.	गवन्या गोविंद काटवटकर	सजन सुमान देवारकर
काळु रावो माहीत्ये	जाणु रामा माधव म.	तानु गोविंद धुतरे
भागु महादु मोरेश्वर	वाळु नावणकर	देऊ रामा धुंदकर
सखाराम गोविंद गायकवाड	केशव भानु	गणपत कमळ्या मांडलेकर
गोविंद पांडुरंग कदम	विठ्ठ बाबु खरवसकर	सोनु तानु सीरकर
यशवंत भाऊ जाधव	रामा शंभु घोडविलकर	महादु राघो कांसार
काशीराम हा, में प. धागरातकर	भाग्या सुडक्या मोडकर	देवजी गणू झोरेगमेर
गोविंद भाया मरचांडे साकरोडकर	भाग्या रामा करंमकर	धर्मा शींगाजी कांसेकर
गणपत रामा मोरे	रामा हरि कासेकर	धागो चांगो दांदे मा.
मु. धर्मा रामा मावरेकर	गणु नागु आंबेडकर	डो. रामजी गुणाजी गोडावळे
मालु रामा मोरेश्वर	धर्मा रावो सुरलकर	गोपाळ रत्न्या नादगांवकर
धोंडु धर्मा जाधव	महादू तलकर	शिवराम रामभाऊ पी. जाधव
अर्जुन धाकु कदम	धर्मा सोनु जाधव	गोविंद जाणु खेडेकर
सोनु संगनाजी सिरके	काळु गोविंद चाटीवले मु.	येशु विठू मुकादम गो.
आनंदा भागु दाबोळकर	लक्षमण बाळु जाधव	शिवा हिरु तांबे
विठ्ठ सुभाना साळके	तुकाराम रामजी मार्तंडे	लक्ष्मण तुकाराम मरचांडे
गोविंद हिरु धुतरे	रामा लक्ष्मण जाधव तु.	विठल लक्षमण ताडीलकर म.
सोनु गोपाळ मुकादम न.	सखाराम भिकु धुतेर	R. L. N. K.
शिवा गोविंद तळवटकर	गोपाळ विठु कदम	S. G. Rawdolkar.

श्री रामेश्वर प्रेस, कांदेवाडी मुंबई.

महाड सत्याग्रहास जाणाऱ्या लोकांस

जाहीर खबर.

ता. २५-१२-२७ पासून महाड येथें सुरू होणाऱ्या सत्याग्रहास जाणाऱ्या मंडळीस विनंतिपूर्वक कळविण्यांत येतें कीं, त्यांनीं आपल्या-बरोबर ताट, तांब्या, कांबळी व तीन दिवस पुरेल इतकी भोजनाची सामुग्री जरूर आणावी. आम्ही तेथें भोजनाची व्यवस्था करणार आहोंत तरीपण प्रत्येकानें आपापली तयारी ठेवावी. **डॉ. आंबेडकर** व इतर सत्याग्रह कमिटीचें लोक मुंबईहून ता. २४-१२-२७ रोजीं आग-बोटीनें निघणार आहेत. तर ज्यांना त्यांच्याबरोबर येणें असेल त्यांनीं ता. १५-१२-२७ पूर्वी आपल्या जाण्यायेण्याच्या खर्चाकरितां ५ रुपये बहिष्कृत हितकारिणी सभेच्या ऑफिसांत आणून दिल्यास त्यांच्या-करितां स्वतंत्र बोटीची व्यवस्था करण्यांत येणार आहे. तरी ही सोय ज्यांना पसंत असेल त्यांनीं ताबतोब आपली नांवें बहिष्कृत हितकारिणी सभेच्या ऑफिसांत नोंदवावी व सेक्रेटरीकडे ५ रुपये देऊन पावती घ्यावी. व ज्यांना कमिटीच्या मंडळीबरोबर यावयाचें नसेल त्यांनीं दासगांवला उतरण्याची खबरदारी घ्यावी.

महाड येथें सत्याग्रहाच्यावेळीं अलोट गर्दी होणार आहे. म्हणून त्यावेळी गर्दीमध्यें आपला मनुष्य अचुक ओळखता यावा या करितां सत्याग्रहांत भाग घेणाऱ्या स्वयंसेवकानें **बहिष्कृत हितकारिणी** सभेच्या नांवाचें पदक छातीवर लाविलें पाहिजे. ज्यांच्या छातीवर सभेच्या नांवाचें पदक नसेल त्यांच्या संरक्षणाची किंवा इतर कसल्याही प्रकारची जबाबदारी सत्याग्रह कमिटी आपल्यावर घेणार नाहीं. सदरहू पदकाची किंमत फक्त दोन आणे ठेवण्यांत आली आहे व ते बहिष्कृत हितकारिणी सभेच्या ऑफिसांत विकत मिळेल.

आपला,

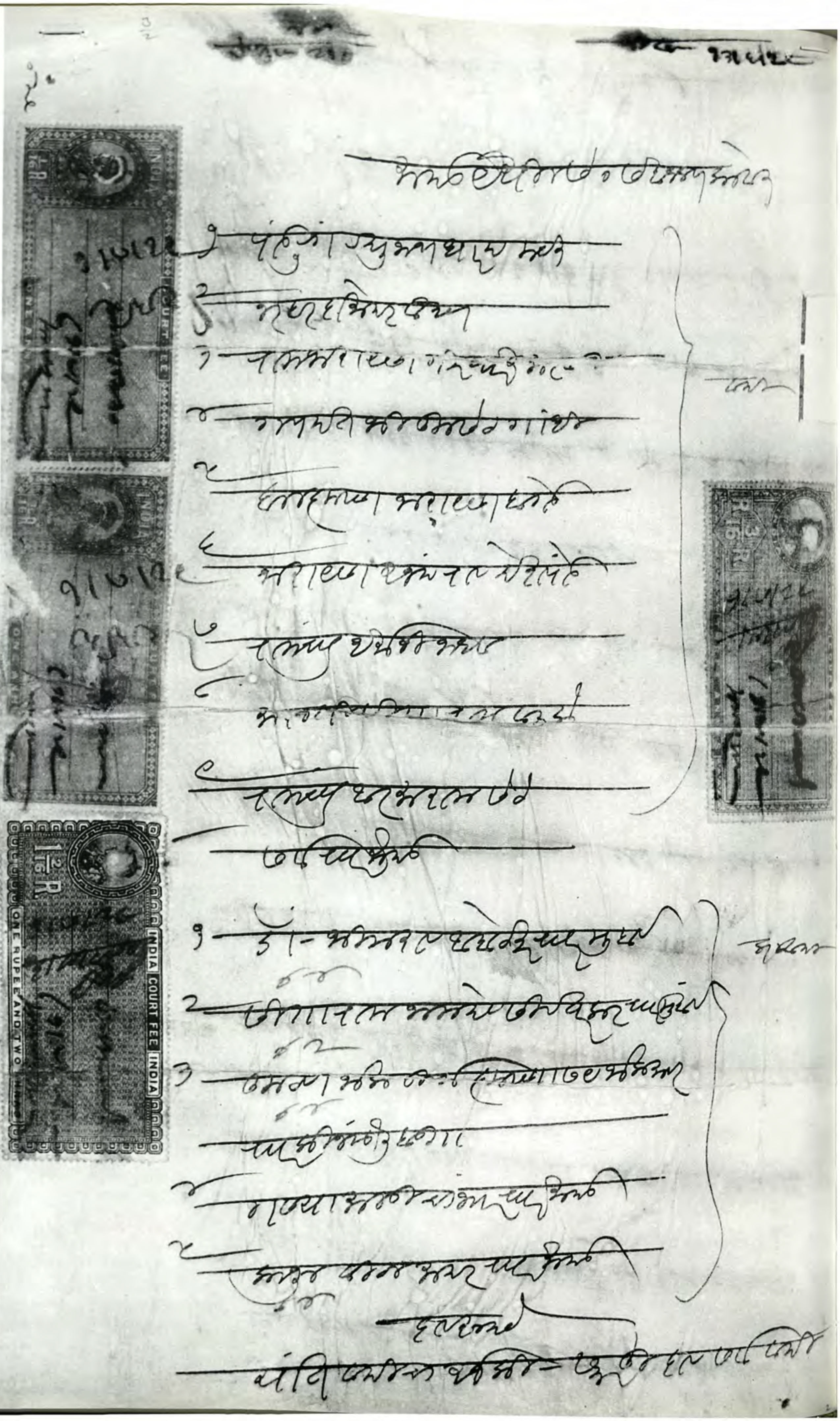
सिताराम नामदेव शिवतरकर,

सेक्रेटरी सत्याग्रह कमिटी.

सहकारी छापखाना, मुंबई १२.

The handbills of the *satyagraha* at Mahad.

The *satyagraha* was organised by the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha on 25 December 1927. On the same occasion a copy of the Hindu scripture *Manusmriti,* which perpetuated social slavery, was burnt publicly under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar.


INDIA
COURT FEE
1 2/16 R.
INDIA COURT FEE INDIA
ONE RUPEE AND TWO
3 R.

महाडच्या चवदार तळ्यासंबंधाच्या दाव्याचा निकाल.

सोंवळ्या हिंदूंनीं मांडलेला दावा कोर्टानें काढून टाकला.

महाड येथील चवदार तळ्यासंबंधाचा वाद तेथील सोंवळे हिंदु व बहिष्कृत वर्गातले लोक यांच्या दरम्यान गेल्या दोन अडीच वर्षांपासून चालत होता. या बाबतींत बहिष्कृत वर्गातल्या मंडळीनें आपल्या हितचिंतकाच्या साहाय्यानें सोंवळ्या हिंदूंशीं जोरानें सामना केला. अखेरीस सदरील तळें सार्वजनिक मालकीचें नसून फक्त वरिष्ठ मानलेल्या हिंदु जातींच्या मालकीचें आहे. असा मुद्दा काढून सोंवळ्या लोकांनीं हें प्रकरण दिवाणी कोर्टांत नेलें व त्यामुळें सत्याग्रहाची सर्व तयारी झाली असतां अगदीं आयत्या वेळेस कायद्याला मान देऊन त्या दाव्याचा निकाल होईपर्यंत सत्याग्रह तहकूब करावा लागला. महाडच्या दिवाणी कोर्टांत १९२७ सालीं मांडण्यांत आलेल्या या दाव्याचा निकाल तेथील सबजजांनीं नुकताच दिला आहे. तो पुढीलप्रमाणें--

१९२९ चा दावा नंबर ४०५

वादी नंबर १ मयत झाला आहे. बाकीचे वादी कोर्टांत नांवें पुकारल्यावेळीं हजर नव्हते. वरिष्ठ जातींच्या हिंदूंचे प्रतिनिधि म्हणून वादींनी हा दावा आणला. दाव्याचें कारण ह्या वादींच्या पुरतेंच शिल्लक राहिलें आहे. मयत वादी नंबर १ याचे कायदेशीर वारस या दाव्यात पक्षकार होऊं शकत नाहींत. वादीच्या वकिलांना हा दावा पुढें चालविण्याविषयीं त्यांच्या अशिलाकडून त्यानंतर सांगण्यांत आलेलें नाहीं. पुकारण्यावेळीं प्रतिवादीहि हजर राहिले नाहींत. त्यांचा वकील मात्र हजर आहे. दावा काढून टाकला आहे (ऑर्डर १७ नियम २) पक्षकारांनीं आपआपला खर्च सोसावा. दोन्ही पक्षांतर्फे कोणी साक्षीदार हजर नाहींत.

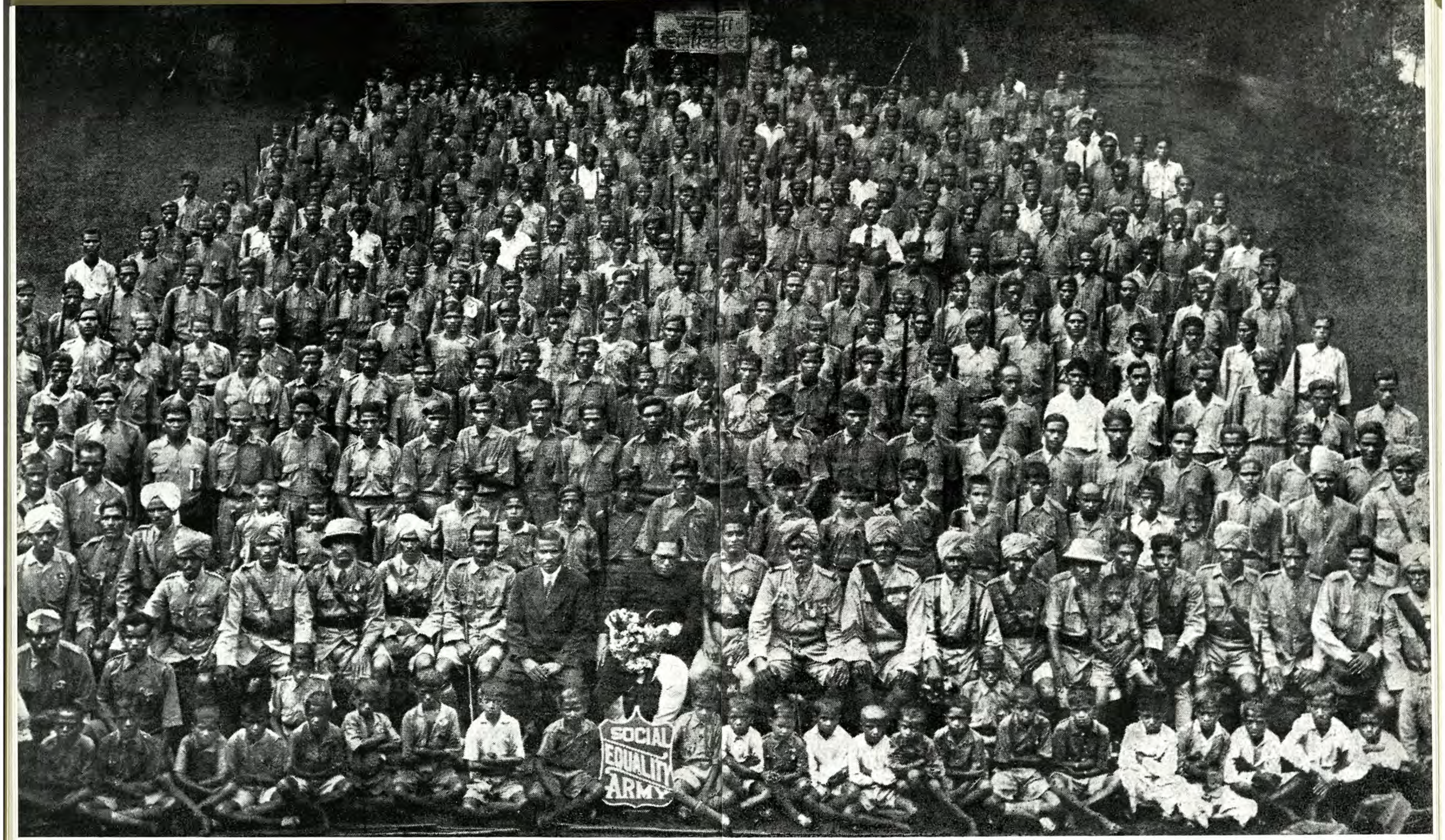
ता. १३ जून १९२९.

(सही) व्ही. व्ही. पंडित, सबजज.

या निकालामुळें तळें अस्पृश्य वर्गास खुलें झाले आहे.

Justice V. V. Pandit delivered his verdict in the law-suit filed by some conservatives in the matter of the *Chavdar Tale* (1927), in favour of the Untouchables on 13 June 1929 in the Civil Court, Mahad. This verdict made the *Chavdar Tale* officially open to the Untouchables.

« Some conservatives from Mahad filed a lawsuit against the Chavdar Tale Satyagraha (Lawsuit Number 405 of 1927, Civil Court, Mahad).



Dr. Ambedkar with the *sainiks*, leaders and volunteers of the Samaj Samata Dal. At Dr. Ambedkar's right is Subedar Vishram Gangaram Savadkar. (Mumbai, 1928)



डॉ० भीमराव आंबेडकर एम्. ए. पी. एच्. डी. डी. एस्. सी. बार-अॅट-लॉ यांच्या नेतृत्वाखालीं निघणारें

—समाज-समता-संघाचें पाक्षिक मुखपत्र—

वार्षिक वर्गणी रु. २॥

किंमत दीड आणा.

संपादक व मुद्रक
दे. वि. नाईक.
रामचंद्रनिवास
दादर-मुंबई १४.

समता

प्रकाशक व व्यवस्थापक
भा. वि. प्रधान बी. ए.
जनरल सेक्रेटरी
समाज-समता-संघ.
रामचंद्रनिवास.
दादर-मुंबई १४.

वर्ष १ लें.] दादर—शुक्रवार, तारीख २९ जून सन १९२८ इसवी. [अंक १ ला.

समतेचा उदय.

[कवि:—उत्तमराव कदम बी. ए.]

The first issue of the fortnightly *Samata*, published on 29 June 1928.

This publication was started as a mouthpiece of the Samaj Samata Sangh under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar. Devrao Naik was the editor of *Samata*. He was also the editor of *Brahmin-Brahminetar*. The last issue (19th) of *Samata* was published on 15 March 1929.



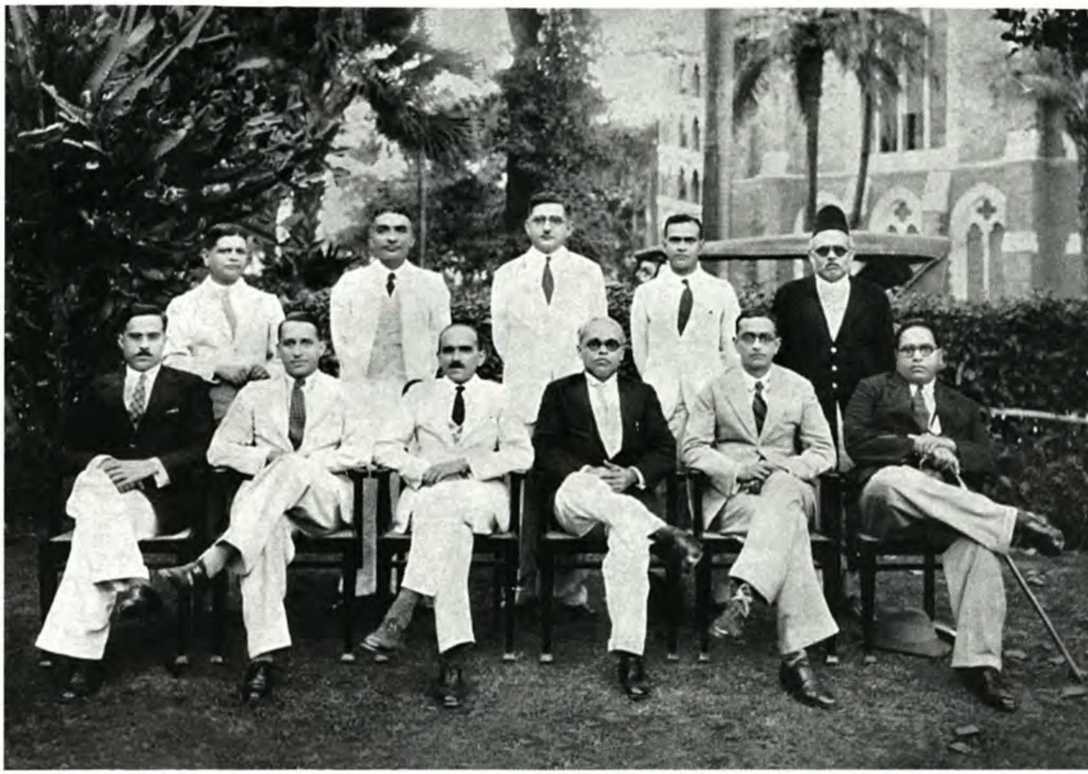
As suggested by Dr. Ambedkar, the volunteers of Samaj Sudharak Yuvak Mandal and Samaj Samata Sangh wrote a letter to the Dadar Sarvajanik Ganeshotsav Mandal, Khandke Building, Mumbai, demanding that Untouchables should also be granted the right to worship in the Sarvajanik Ganeshotsav. These volunteers had already secured memberships of the Ganeshotsav Mandal by paying the required fees. On 25 September 1928, Raobahadur S. K. Bole, Prabodhankar Thackeray, Keluskar Guruji and Bhaskarrao Kadrekar went to the venue of the Ganeshotsav to exercise their right to worship. This delegation was led by Dr. Ambedkar. After discussion with Dr. Ambedkar, the organisers of the *puja,* agreed to let the Untouchables worship.

The photograph shows Dr. Ambedkar with the volunteers of this agitation on the stairs of Tilak Bridge, Dadar.



Dr. Ambedkar with Sir John Simon, Chairman of the Simon Commission and other members of the Commission.

The Simon Commission (the Indian Statutary Commission) was sent to India by the British Government to deal with the increasing discontent and to suggest political reforms. As Indians had no representation on the Commission, it met with protests from all quarters, especially from the Congress Party. Dr. Ambedkar was appointed as a member of the Mumbai Provincial Committee, which was formed by the government to assist the Simon Commission. As a member of this Committee, Dr. Ambedkar represented the Depressed Classes. On 23 October 1928, he pleaded before the Commission at Pune, placing before them the condition of his people. He also submitted a memorandum to the Commission, which demanded joint electorates and reserved seats for the Depressed Classes.



Dr. Ambedkar with his colleagues from the Government Law College, Mumbai.

Dr. Ambedkar worked there as temporary Professor from 21 June 1928 to March 1929. Later he served for two years as the Principal of this college from 1 June 1935.

(Sitting L to R): Prof. A. A. Adarkar, Prof. G. S. C. Brown, Principal A. A. A. Faizi, Prof. T. N. Walawalkar, Prof. A. B. Vaidya.

(Standing L to R): Prof. S. B. Jathar, Prof. M. S. Vakil, Prof. N. C. H. Kayji, Prof. L. F. Rodricks and Registrar R. P. Karve.

अनिल सवादकर

Appeal

on behalf of the

Depressed Classes Institute

ORGANIZATION.



Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Bar.-at-Law; Delegate, Indian Round Table Conference. President, Depressed Classes Institute

THE Depressed Classes Institute is an organization of the Depressed Classes which is conducted by members of the Depressed Classes in the interests of the Depressed Classes. The aim of the Institute is to raise the Depressed Classes from their present-day down-trodden condition to a status of social and political equality in Indian Society and to promote their economic welfare.

The Institute was established in June, 1925, and has been functioning since then. The Institute is intended to be an All-India organization with branches all over India. But owing to want of resources the activities of the Institute are confined to the Presidency of Bombay. The Institute functions through the agency of social workers who are pledged to work for the uplift of the Depressed Classes. They are mainly drawn from the Depressed Classes and are scattered over the various districts of the Presidency of Bombay. The activities of these social workers are directed and co-ordinated by a Managing Council of the leading members of the Depressed Classes at the headquarters of the Institute located in the city of Bombay.

ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE.

During the short period of five years which has elapsed since its establishment the work of the Institute has grown to such enormous proportions that it is impossible to give even a summary of it within the scope of this leaflet. All that can be done is to indicate the lines of activity undertaken by the Institute in pursuance of its aim, namely the elevation of the Depressed Classes. These activities may be classified under the following heads:

(1) **Propaganda.** The Institute publishes a newspaper called *Janata* (The People) with the object of enlightening the Depressed Classes on their special problems and also on the general problems of the day in so far as they affect them. It educates them into a realization of their civic rights, ventilates their grievances and creates public opinion in favour of speedy redress. The guiding principle of the paper is equality. Until last month it was a fortnightly paper. It is now converted into a weekly. The Institute also publishes other literature from time to time on various subjects for the education of the Depressed Classes.

(2) **Civic Rights Campaign.** Although there are many cases in which the law allows civic rights to the Depressed Classes there are a legion in which custom stands in the way of the Depressed Classes benefiting by them. One of the objects of the

On 14 June 1925, Dr. Ambedkar dissolved the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha, which was functioning since 1924 and decided to establish the Bharatiya Bahishkrit Samaj Sewa Samiti. Within a month, he founded the Bharatiya Bahishkrit Shikshan Prasarak Mandal to work for the education of Untouchable children. The *Mandal* received grants from the government and was entrusted with the management of five proposed hostels. This pamphlet, soliciting financial aid for the *Mandal* was given by Dr. Ambedkar to the representatives gathered for the Round Table Conference at London and to industrialists and heads of the Princely States in India.



This photograph of Dr. Ambedkar with the volunteers of the Samaj Samata Sangh was taken on 9 June 1929.

(Sitting L to R): M. B. Deshmukh, Bhalachandra V. Pradhan, Devrao V. Naik, A. S. Asaikar, M. G. Pradhan, D. V. Pradhan, S. S. Gupte and G. R. Pradhan.

(Standing L to R): G. A. Jadhav, R. D. Kawali, N. V. Khandke, R. P. Kangle, Bhaskarrao Kadrekar and V. A. Kadam.

Dr. Ambedkar had founded the Samaj Samata Sangh (League for Equality) on 4 September 1927, for the propagation of social equality. Many prominent personalities from the upper castes like Devrao Naik, Raobahadur Bole, Bhaskarrao Kadrekar and Lokmanya Tilak's son Shridharpant Tilak had also joined the Sangh. The Sangh organised *Vedic* marriages of Untouchables and shared meals for Touchables and Untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar founded a branch of the Sangh on 8 April 1928, at Lokmanya Tilak's Gaikwad Wada in Pune.



On 29 June 1929, the Samaj Samata Sangh organised the *Vedic* wedding ceremony of Keshav, the son of Dr. Ambedkar's associate Govind Adrekar with Vithabai Tidekar, at Damodar Hall, Parel, Mumbai. This was the first *Vedic* wedding ceremony in the Untouchable Classes. Sunderrao Vaidya (next to the bride, with a *pagdi*), a *Brahmin*, presided over the ceremony in the capacity of a priest. In the photograph, on the right of the bridegroom are seen Dr. Ambedkar's sister-in-law Laxmibai and his wife Ramabai.

Standing in the back row (L to R): Dr. Ambedkar, Raobahadur Bole, P. G. Solanki and others.



The Kalaram Mandir at Nashik.

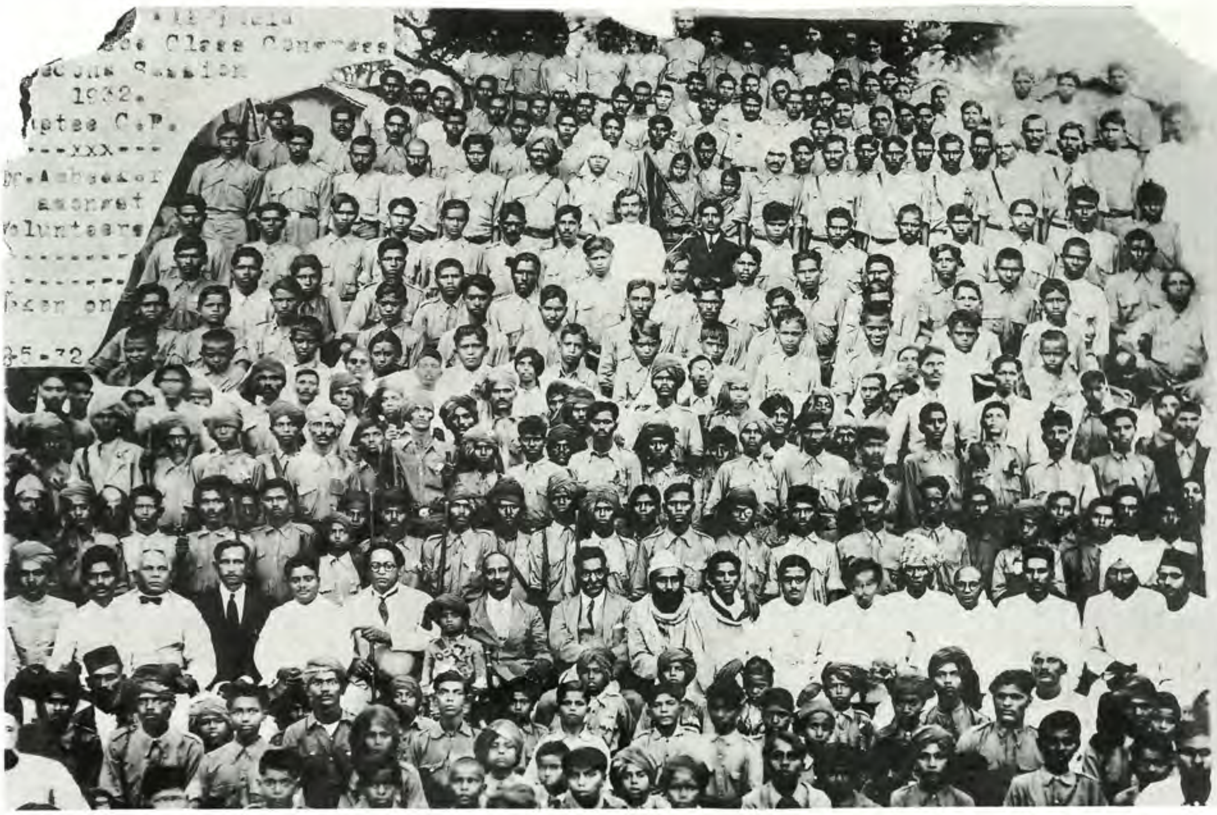
After the *satyagraha* of Mahad, Dr. Ambedkar began the Kalaram Mandir Pravesh Satyagraha on 3 March 1930. This struggle to win the right of temple entry for the Untouchables went on for five years (upto the time of the Yeola Parishad). It was led by Dadasaheb Gaikwad and Amritrao Rankhambe who were Dr. Ambedkar's close associates in Nashik.



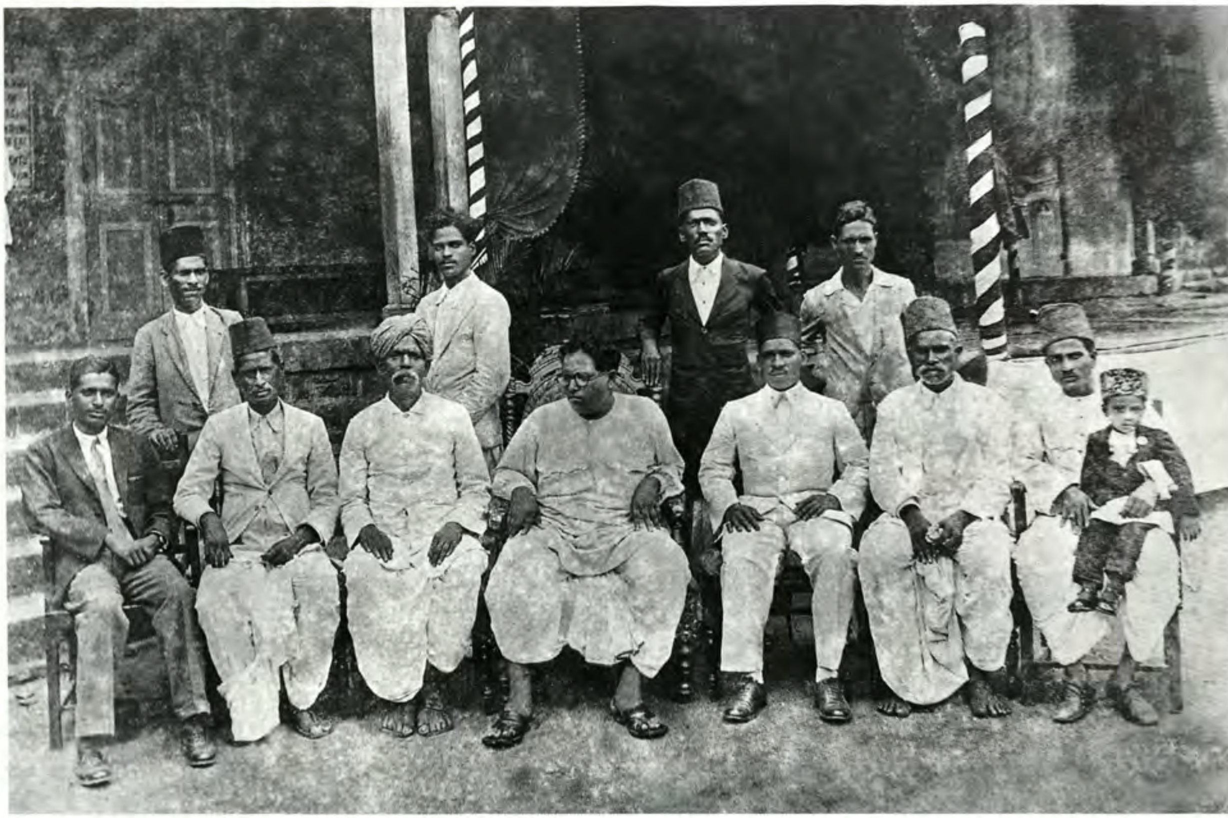


Untouchables trying to enter the Kalaram Mandir being stopped and arrested by the police (1930).

The Kalaram Mandir Pravesh Satyagraha: Anant Hari Gadre (on the left), Amritrao Rankhambe (both garlanded) and others (1930).



Dr. Ambedkar delivered the Presidential Address at the first Conference of the All India Depressed Classes Congress held at Kamthi, Nagpur on 8–9 August 1930. The Conference was held to awaken the people against the political reforms concerning the Depressed Classes as proposed by the Simon Commission. Here Dr. Ambedkar is seen with Raobahadur R. Srinivasan (on the right, second from Dr. Ambedkar), and other leaders and volunteers.

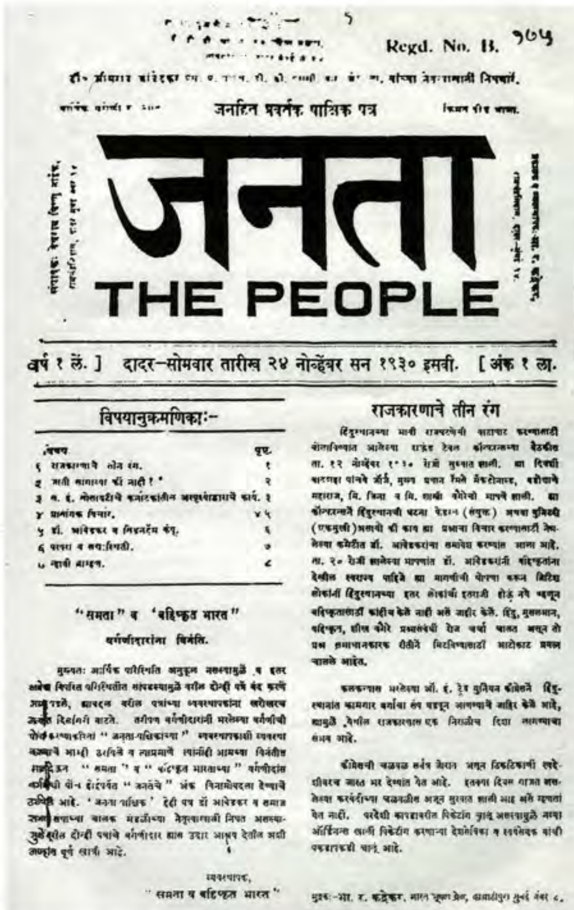


The British Government had convened the Round Table Conference with Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald as its Chairman, to frame a Constitution for India and to decide upon the rights of the minority groups and Untouchable Classes. Representatives of various political parties, Princely states and minority groups were invited to this conference. Dr. Ambedkar and Raobahadur R. Srinivasan were invited by the Viceroy as representatives of the Depressed Classes.

This is the photograph taken on 3 October 1930 when a large number of Dr. Ambedkar's followers and friends had gathered at Damodar Hall, Parel, Mumbai to bid him farewell before he left for London to attend the Round Table Conference.

Seen in the photograph with Dr. Ambedkar, (L to R): Keshavrao Govind Adrekar, Govindbaba Adrekar, Sambhaji Tukaram Gaikwad, Pandurang Babaji Mandlekar (Jamgekar),Shivram Gopal Jadhav and C. N. Mohite (Guruji).

Standing (L to R) : Satamkar, Wadvalkar, Tanaji Gudekar and R. B. More.



Regd. No. B. ७७५

जनहित प्रवर्तक पाक्षिक पत्र

जनता
THE PEOPLE

वर्ष १ लें.] दादर–सोमवार तारीख २४ नोव्हेंबर सन १९३० इसवी. [अंक १ ला.

विषयानुक्रमणिका:–

राजकारणाचे तीन रंग

"समता" व "बहिष्कृत भारत"



The first issue of *Janata.*

This newspaper started by Dr. Ambedkar on 24 November 1930 has a special place in the movement of the Depressed Classes. It was started as a fortnightly but was later brought out as a weekly from 31 October 1931. Dr. Ambedkar entrusted the editorship of *Janata* to Devrao Naik, the editor of *Brahmin-Brahminetar* and *Samata.* Later B. R. Kadrekar, Bapusaheb Sahasrabuddhe, B. C. Kamble, R. D. Bhandare and Yashwantrao Ambedkar also helped and successfully brought out *Janata* till 1955. On 4 February 1956, on Dr. Ambedkar's directions, *Janata* was renamed *Prabuddha Bharat.* The long letters that Dr. Ambedkar wrote from London during the period between 1930 to 1933 were published in *Janata.* They are priceless documents.

Dr. Ambedkar with Ramachandra Krishnaji Kadam and Sitaram Shivtarkar (sitting, from left) who were responsible for the publication of *Janata* (1930).



The First Round Table Conference was convened at London from 12 November 1930 to 19 January 1931. As a part of its non-cooperation movement, the Indian National Congress Party had boycotted the Conference. Dr. Ambedkar represented the Depressed Classes of India in the Conference. Through him, for the first time the world came to know about the plight of Untouchables in India.

In the photograph, Dr. Ambedkar is ninth in the middle row.



In 1931, Dr. Ambedkar, some of his followers and some retired personnel of the Mahar Regiment of the military met the Governor of Mumbai at Pune regarding the recruitment of Untouchables in the military. Here they are seen at Empress Garden.



Dr. Ambedkar, Mahatma Gandhi and other representatives from India at the Second Round Table Conference.

The Second Round Table Conference was held in London from 7 September to 1 December 1931 to discuss the political reforms to be implemented in India. Prominent among those who attended the Conference were Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Barrister Mukundrao Jaykar, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sarojini Naidu and Dr. Ambedkar. During the Conference, there was a heated argument between Dr. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi regarding political rights for the Depressed Classes. Dr. Ambedkar said, 'If the government wanted to transfer power, it should be accompanied by such conditions and by such provisions that the power should not find itself into the hands of a Hindu or a Muslim group.' He demanded separate electorates for the Depressed Classes on the lines of electorates for Muslims, Sikhs and Christians. Gandhiji strongly opposed this demand. Here the differences that Dr. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi had, came to the fore.



On 29 January 1932, Dr. Ambedkar returned to Mumbai after attending the Second Round Table Conference in London. He was accompanied by the British Members of the Franchise Committee and Muslim leader Maulana Shaukat Ali. A huge crowd of followers and admirers welcomed them. Dr. Ambedkar and Maulana Shaukat Ali were taken out in a procession from Ballard Pier to Byculla. A photograph of this procession.

The following agreement has been arrived at between leaders acting on behalf of the depressed classes and of the rest of the Hindu community regarding the representation of the depressed classes in the Legislatures and certain other matters affecting their welfare:-

1. There shall be seats reserved for the depressed classes out of the General Electorate seats in the Provincial Legislatures as follows:-

Madras 30 ~~out of 215~~, Bombay with Sindh 15 ~~out of 200~~, Punjab 8 ~~out of 175~~, Bihar and Orissa 18 ~~out of 175~~, Central Provinces 20 ~~out of 112~~, Assam 7 ~~out of 108~~, Bengal 30 ~~out of 250~~, The United Provinces 20 ~~out of 228~~ - total 148 ~~out of 1453~~ seats. These figures are based on the total strength of the Provincial Councils announced in the Prime Minister's decision.

2. Election to these seats shall be by joint electorates subject however, to the following procedure:-

All the members of the depressed classes registered in the general electoral roll of a constituency will form an electoral college which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the depressed classes for each of such reserved seats by the method of the single vote and four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary election shall be the candidates for election by the general electorate.

3. The representation of the depressed classes in the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principle of joint electorates and reserved seats by the method of primary election in the manner provided for in clause 2 above for ~~the~~ their representation in the Provincial Legislatures.

4. In the Central Legislature 18 per cent of the seats allotted to the general electorate for British India in the said Legislature shall be reserved for the depressed classes.

5. The system of primary election to a panel of candidates for election to the Central and Provincial Legislatures as herein before mentioned shall come to an end after the first 10 years, unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement under the provisions of clause 6 below.

6. ~~The system of representation of depressed classes~~ by reserved seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as provided for in clauses 1 and 4 shall continue until determined by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in this settlement.

7. The franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures for the depressed classes shall be as indicated in the Lothian Committee's Report.

8. There shall be no disabilities attaching to any one on the ground of his being a member of the depressed classes in regard to any elections to local bodies or appointment to the Public Services. Every endeavour shall be made to secure a fair representation of the depressed classes in these respects, subject to such educational qualifications as may be laid down for appointment to the Public Services.

9. In every province out of the educational grant an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities for the members of the depressed classes.

Poona 24th September 1932

B.R. Ambedkar   Madan Mohan Malaviya

C. Rajagopalachar   R. Srinivasan M.L.C. R.T.C.

Tej Bahadur Sapru   M.R. Jayakar

The Poona Pact:

On 17 August 1932, the British Prime Minister presented his Award on the Communal Issue in India, as was decided in the Round Table Conference. As demanded by Dr. Ambedkar, the Depressed Classes were granted separate electorates. On 20 September 1932, Gandhiji declared his resolve to fast unto death in protest of the separate electorates for the Depressed Classes. He was in the Yervada Jail at that time. Dr. Ambedkar remained firm on his stand. Leaders from all over the country tried to resolve the deadlock. After prolonged discussions, the Poona Pact was signed on 24 September 1932. The British Government got the pact endorsed by the Parliament on 26 September 1932. Gandhiji ended his fast on 27 September.



Leaders who participated in the discussions of the Poona Pact with Dr. Ambedkar in front of Yervada Jail. Barrister M. R. Jaykar and renowned cricketer P. Balu are seen at far left and far right respestively.



The *Dasara* convention of the Nashik District Central Committee, Mumbai (9 October 1932). First Row (L to R): A. P. Nikam, H. K. Gangurde, V. A. Gangurde, G. N. Pagare, B. N. Hire, P. M. Pagare and M. B. Salve.

Second Row: K. A. Dangle, R. M. Salve, Diwakar N. Pagare, S. N. Shivtarkar, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, D. N. Pagare, P. N. Jadhav, S. L. Gaikwad and S. N. Pagare.

Third Row: R. D. Bhalerao, T. M. Bhosle, S. V. Pagare, S. S. Nikale, S. B. Barve, S. T. Pagare, S. R. Bhalerao and D. N. Zalte.

Fourth Row: A. M. Pagare, Atmaram Gangurde and M. Sonawane.

गांधी संग्रह.
साबरमती.

1399

Damodar Hall, Parel,
Bombay No. 12,
Dated, 12th February 1933.

Dear Mahatmaji, S.n. 20225

I am sure you muust have received for your Harijan through the Associated Press a copy of the statement, which I have issued defining the attitude of the Depressed Classes in regard to the question of Temple Entry. I am also sending herewith another copy of the same directly for your information.

Yours sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar

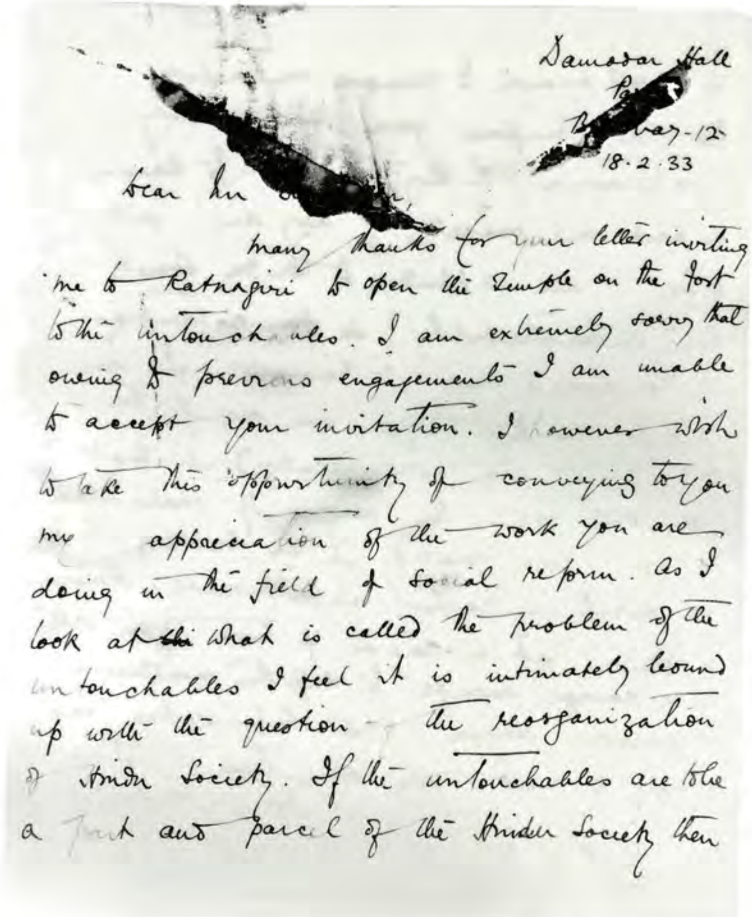
To

M. K. Gandhi Esq.,
Yerawada Jail,
Poona.

For reply vide S.n. 20265 d/ 16-2-33

130

Dr. Ambedkar published his statement regarding the Untouchables' Temple Entry Resolution, which was presented in the Central Legislative Assembly in 1933. He sent a copy of this statement to Mahatma Gandhi. This is the accompanying letter.



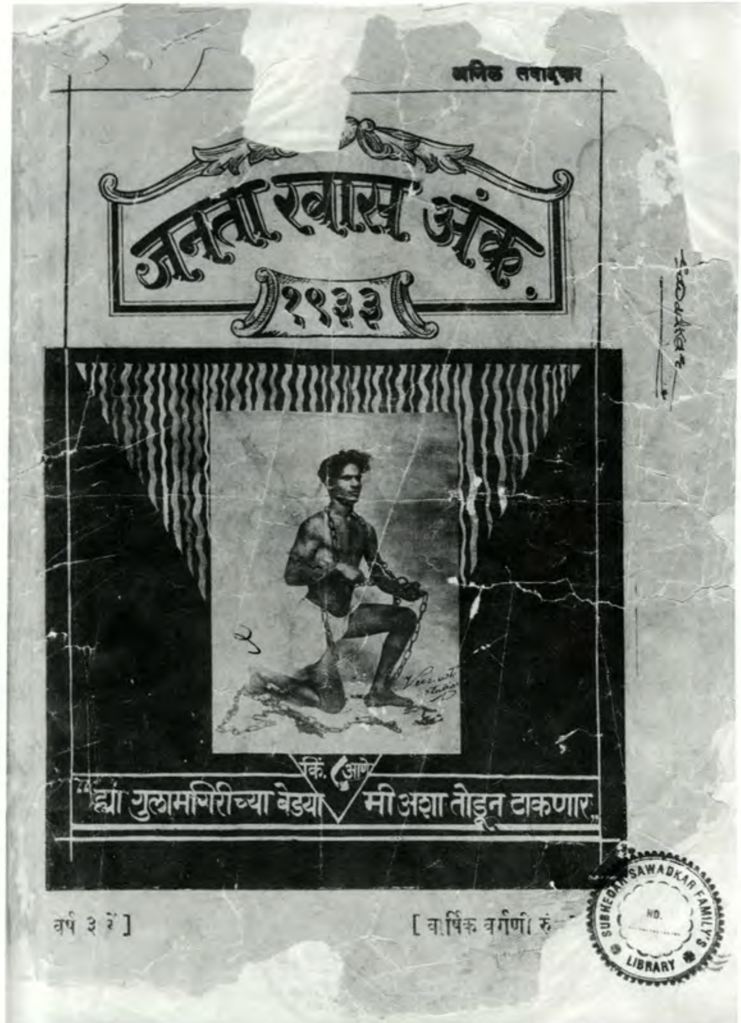
Damodar Hall
Pa[illegible]
B[illegible]bay-12
18.2.33

Dear Mr [illegible],

Many thanks for your letter inviting me to Ratnagiri to open the temple on the fort to the untouchables. I am extremely sorry that owing to previous engagements I am unable to accept your invitation. I however wish to take this opportunity of conveying to you my appreciation of the work you are doing in the field of social reform. As I look at ~~the~~ what is called the problem of the untouchables I feel it is intimately bound up with the question of the reorganization of Hindu Society. If the untouchables are to be a part and parcel of the Hindu Society then

In 1933, Swatantryaveer Savarkar invited Dr. Ambedkar to Ratnagiri to inaugurate the Patit-pawan temple built by Bhagoji Keer. This is the letter that Dr. Ambedkar wrote to Savarkar in reply to his invitation.

In this letter, Dr. Ambedkar stressed the need for abolishment of the caste system.



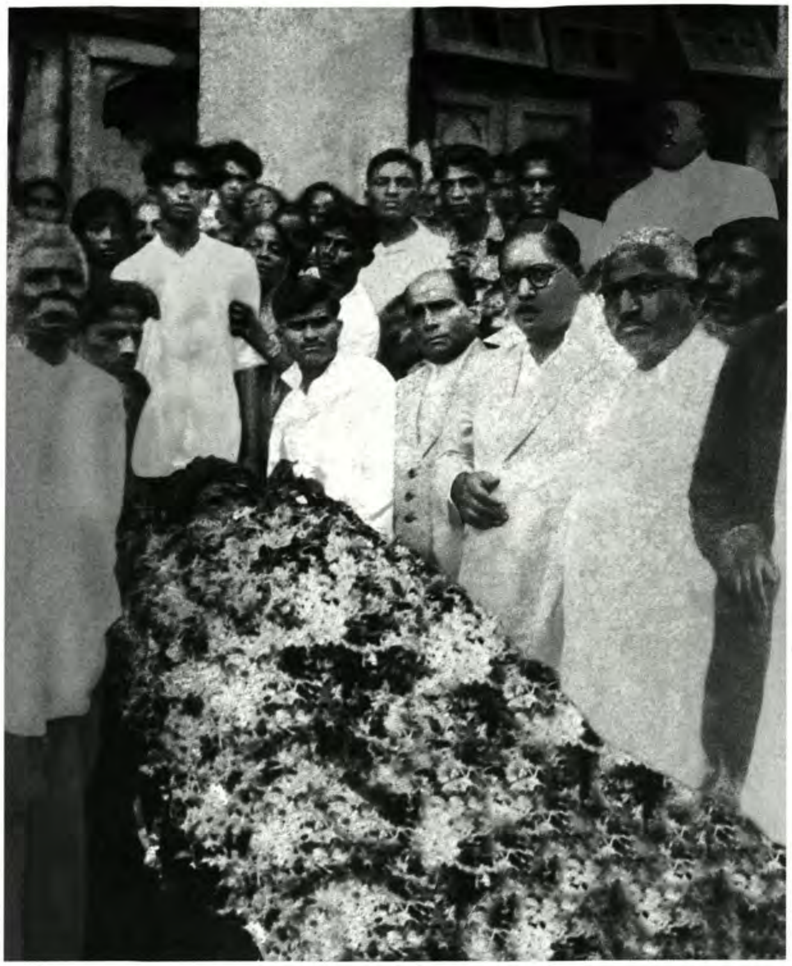
This is the issue of *Janata,* published as the Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Jayanti (Birth Anniversary) Special, on 14 April 1933. It was edited by Bhaskar Raghunath Kadrekar. It was the first Ambedkar Jayanti Special.



Dr. Ambedkar with his family at their residence at Rajgraha, Hindu Colony, Mumbai.
(L to R) Yashwant (son), Dr. Ambedkar, Ramabai, sister-in-law Laxmibai (the widow of Dr. Ambedkar's elder brother Anandrao), Mukundrao (nephew) and Dr. Ambedkar's pet dog Tobby. Dr. Ambedkar came to stay in Rajgraha in February 1934.



Ramabai Ambedkar, Laxmibai (sitting, second and third from left) with other relatives.



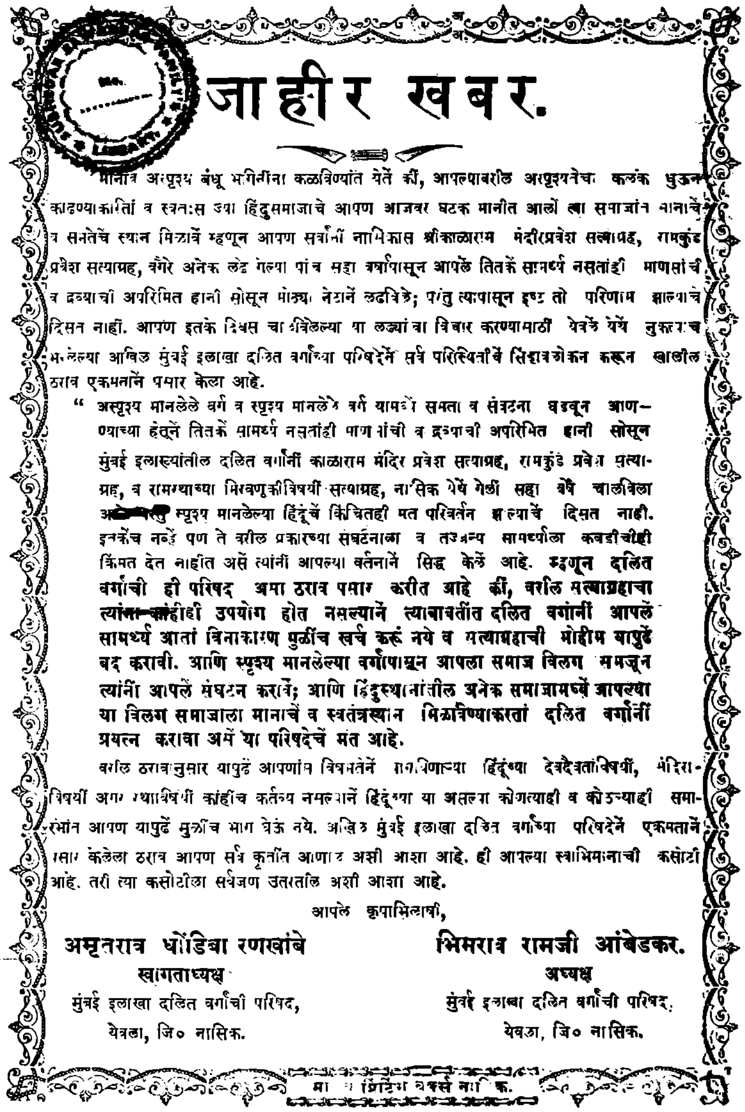
Daviddada Abraham alias Devidas Jadhav from Kamathipura, Mumbai organised speeches of Dr. Ambedkar and other leaders to bring about an awakening among the Untouchables. He put a stop to the exploitation of his community at the hands of *Pathan* moneylenders. He had to pay for this with his life. He was murdered by men hired by the *Pathan* moneylenders on 10 February 1935.

The photograph shows Dr. Ambedkar paying homage to Daviddada.



Dr. Ambedkar's dutiful and pious wife Ramabai suffered from tuberculosis and was slowly wasting away. Dr. Ambedkar did his utmost to mitigate her sufferings. Her condition took a turn for the worse in January 1935 and she breathed her last on 27 May 1935. Ramabai's life had been full of hardships and sorrow. Dr. Ambedkar was heartbroken at her death.

Dr. Ambedkar is seen here paying homage to Ramabai. Others in the photograph are: Yashwant (son), Laxmibai (sister-in-law), Sitaram Shivtarkar and others.



जाहीर खबर.

मानीव अस्पृश्य बंधू भगिनींना कळविण्यांत येतें कीं, आपल्यावरील अस्पृश्यतेचा कलंक धुऊन काढण्याकरितां व स्वतःस ज्या हिंदुसमाजाचे आपण आजवर घटक मानीत आलों त्या समाजांत मानाचें व समतेचें स्थान मिळावें म्हणून आपण सर्वांनीं नासिकास श्रीकाळाराम मंदीरप्रवेश सत्याग्रह, रामकुंड प्रवेश सत्याग्रह, वगैरे अनेक लढे गेल्या पांच सहा वर्षांपासून आपलें तितकें सामर्थ्य नसतांही माणसांची व द्रव्याची अपरिमित हानी सोसून मोठ्या नेटानें लढविले; परंतु त्यापासून इष्ट तो परिणाम झाल्याचें दिसत नाहीं. आपण इतके दिवस चालविलेल्या या लढ्यांचा विचार करण्यासाठीं येवले येथें नुकत्याच भरलेल्या अखिल मुंबई इलाखा दलित वर्गांच्या परिषदेनें सर्व परिस्थितीचें सिंहावलोकन करून खालील ठराव एकमतानें पसार केला आहे.

" अस्पृश्य मानलेले वर्ग व स्पृश्य मानलेले वर्ग यामध्यें समता व संघटना घडवून आणण्याच्या हेतूनें तितकें सामर्थ्य नसतांही माणसांची व द्रव्याची अपरिमित हानी सोसून मुंबई इलाख्यांतील दलित वर्गांनीं काळाराम मंदिर प्रवेश सत्याग्रह, रामकुंड प्रवेश सत्याग्रह, व रामरथाच्या मिरवणुकीविषयीं सत्याग्रह, नासिक येथें गेलीं सहा वर्षें चालविला अ[illegible] स्पृश्य मानलेल्या हिंदूंचें किंचितही मत परिवर्तन झाल्याचें दिसत नाही. इतकेंच नव्हें पण ते वरील प्रकारच्या संघटनाला व तज्जन्य सामर्थ्याला कवडीचीही किंमत देत नाहींत असें त्यांनीं आपल्या वर्तनानें सिद्ध केलें आहे. **म्हणून दलित वर्गांची ही परिषद असा ठराव पसार करीत आहे कीं, वरील सत्याग्रहाचा त्यांना कांहींही उपयोग होत नसल्यानें त्याबाबतींत दलित वर्गांनीं आपलें सामर्थ्य आतां विनाकारण मुळींच खर्च करूं नये व सत्याग्रहाची मोहीम यापुढें बंद करावी. आणि स्पृश्य मानलेल्या वर्गांपासून आपला समाज विलग समजून त्यांनीं आपलें संघटन करावें; आणि हिंदुस्थानांतील अनेक समाजांमध्यें आपल्या या विलग समाजाला मानाचें व स्वतंत्रस्थान मिळविण्याकरतां दलित वर्गांनीं प्रयत्न करावा असें या परिषदेचें मत आहे.**"

वरील ठरावानुसार यापुढें आपणांस विनंतीनें सांगणें आहे कीं, हिंदूंच्या देवदेवतांविषयीं, मंदिराविषयीं अगर त्यांविषयीं कांहींच कर्तव्य नसल्यानें हिंदूंच्या या अशल्या कोणत्याही व कोठल्याही समारंभांत आपण यापुढें मुळींच भाग घेऊं नये. अखिल मुंबई इलाखा दलित वर्गांच्या परिषदेनें एकमतानें पसार केलेला ठराव आपण सर्व कृतींत आणाल अशी आशा आहे. ही आपल्या स्वाभिमानाची कसोटी आहे. तरी त्या कसोटीला सर्वजण उतरतील अशी आशा आहे.

आपले कृपाभिलाषी,

अमृतराव धोंडिबा रणखांबे
स्वागताध्यक्ष
मुंबई इलाखा दलित वर्गांची परिषद,
येवला, जि० नासिक.

भिमराव रामजी आंबेडकर.
अध्यक्ष
मुंबई इलाखा दलित वर्गांची परिषद,
येवला, जि० नासिक.

मा[illegible] प्रिंटिंग वर्क्स ना[illegible]क.

The resolution that was passed at the Mumbai Province Depressed Classes Conference held at Yeola, district Nashik.

By the year 1935, Dr. Ambedkar had arrived at the conclusion that conversion to some other religion was the only option for the Untouchables to be regarded as human beings. Till then he had tried in vain to put an end to the inequality in society through his agitations, movements and political struggles. At the conference held at Yeola on 13 October 1935, he gave utterance to his frustration saying that, 'I was born a Hindu. But I will not die a Hindu.'


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VOL. XXIII NO. 24(BOMBAY: TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1935 FOURTEEN PAGES

Nemesis Overtakes Hindu Orthodoxy ?

Congress Cabinet To Meet To-day

MADRAS, Oct. 14.

After the strenuous train journey and the taxing procession, Babu Rajendra Prasad felt exhausted and, therefore, the Working Committee meeting fixed for to-night has been postponed to to-morrow morning 8 o'clock.

A. I. C. C. To Meet On 17th

It is officially announced that the A.I.C.C. will meet at the Congress House on October 17 at 8 in the morning.—United Press.

RAJEN BABU AT MADRAS

Magnificent Welcome Accorded To Congress President

MADRAS, Oct. 14.

A magnificent welcome was accorded to Babu Rajendra Prasad, President of the Congress this evening, when he arrived here from Wardha accompanied by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram and Acharya Kripalani.

Ambedkar Throws Bombshell

Harijans Prepare For Conversion

Yeola Conference Decides On Acceptance Of Any Faith Guaranteeing Equality

NASIK, Oct. 14.

Complete severance of Depressed Classes from the Hindu fold and embracing any other religion guaranteeing them equal status and treatment with other members of the faith is the gist of the resolution passed unanimously at the Bombay Presidency Depressed Classes Conference held yesterday at Yeola, Nasik District.

The resolution was adopted on the advice of Dr. Ambedkar, President, who speaking over an hour bitterly recounting the treatment meted out by Caste Hindus to Harijans.

BEST WAY

INDIA AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BRITISH CABINET TO MEET TO-DAY

TURN FOR BETTER IN KAMALA NEHRU'S CONDITION

WAR NEWS AT A GLANCE

Reported Split In Abyssinian Ranks

A Column Renounces Allegiance To "Negus"

SEVERAL CHIEFTAINS SURRENDER TO ITALY?

(Through Reuter's Agency)
ROME, Oct. 14.

According to a message from Adigrat another column of a thousand Abyssinians renounced allegiance to the "Negus" on Makalle Road and asked permission to join the Italians to whom they handed over a thousand new Herstal rifles. The men say their real enemies are Shoans who inhabit the central districts of Abyssinia. Several Entiscio chieftains are also reported to have surrendered. The first column of motor transport arrived at Adowa along the newly constructed road from Asmara.

British Subjects Asked To Leave Abyssinia

Back To India

Fascist Retort To League

ROME, Oct. 14.

COMPROMISE IMPROBABLE?

Mr. Giri May Not Attend Meeting Of Congress & Labour Sub-Committees

FIFTY MORE MINERS

138

Reaction in newspaper to Dr. Ambedkar's decision of conversion.

Dr. Ambedkar publicly announced his decision of conversion at the Yeola Conference in 1935. The decision met with strong reactions from all over India. Mahatma Gandhi requested Dr. Ambedkar to reconsider his decision. Dr. Ambedkar was firm.

A rare photograph of Dr. Ambedkar from the year 1936. He suffered from torturing headaches during this time. He had been to Kaivalyadham Institute in Lonavala for treatment, for which he had tonsured his head.

>>>



अखिल मुंबई इलाखा महार परिषद



जाहीर विनंती पत्रक.

अखिल अस्पृश्यांचे एकमेव पुढारी दीनबंधु डॉ. **बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर** यांनी तारीख १३ ऑक्टोबर १९३५ रोजी **येवलें** (जिल्हा नाशिक) येथे भरलेल्या परिषदेंत सांगितले की, हिंदु धर्माची समाज रचना विषमतेच्या पायावर उभारलेली असल्यामुळें आपण हिंदु या नात्यानें माणुसकीचे हक्क मिळविण्याकरितां कितीही आणि कितीही प्रयत्न केले तरी आपणांस यश मिळणें शक्य नाहीं. आपण महाड, नाशिक व इतर ठिकाणी सत्याग्रह करून समानतेचे हक्क प्रस्थापित करण्यासाठी निकराचा व जोराचा प्रयत्न करून पाहिला, परंतु त्या लढ्यामध्ये आपले द्रव्यबळ व मनुष्यबळ खर्च झाले. आणि त्यांत आपणांस यश मिळण्याऐवजी आपल्या बांधवांना खेड्यापाड्यांतून अनेक प्रकारचे हाल सोसावे लागले आणि हल्ली लागत आहेत. तरी आपणांस जर मनुष्य म्हणून जगावयाचे असेल व आपली सामाजिक, आर्थिक, शैक्षणीक व राजकीय परिस्थिति सुधारून आपले माणुसकीचे हक्क प्रस्थापित करावयाचे असतील तर **आपण या हिंदु धर्मापासून अलग झाले पाहिजे. म्हणजे धर्मांतर केले पाहिजे** आणि त्यांतच आपणां सर्व अस्पृश्यांचे कल्याण आहे.

अस्पृश्यांच्या धर्मांतराचा प्रश्न हा अत्यंत महत्त्वाचा आहे. या प्रश्नाच्या बाबतीत अस्पृश्य जनतेचें धोरण निश्चित करणे हें अस्पृश्य जनतेचें कर्तव्य आहे, नव्हे जबाबदारी आहे. अस्पृश्यांतील निरनिराळ्या जातींच्या निरनिराळ्या परिषदा भरवून त्यांत या प्रश्नाचा निकाल करणें हा अस्पृश्य जनतेचे धोरण ठरविण्याचा मार्ग आहे असे डॉ. **बाबासाहेबांचें मत** आहे.

वरील सूचनेनुसार, मुंबई इलाख्यांतील सर्व महार बंधु भगिनींस विनंतिपूर्वक कळविण्यांत येतें कीं, मुंबई इलाख्यांतील सर्व महारांची प्रातिनिधिक स्वरूपाची परिषद मुंबई शहरांमध्यें येत्या **मे महिन्यांत** भरविण्याचें मुक्रर केले आहे. परिषदेमध्ये आपले परमपूज्य पुढारी डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांनी धर्मांतराची जी घोषणा केलेली आहे त्याबाबतीत आपल्या समाजाचे पुढील धोरण निश्चित ठरविले जाईल. तरी या महत्त्वाच्या परिषदेमध्ये प्रत्येक जिल्ह्याजिल्ह्यांतून, तालुक्या तालुक्यांतून व प्रत्येक गांवांगांवांतून आपापले प्रतिनिधी पाठवून परिषद यशस्वी कराल अशी आशा आहे.

आपलें कार्य अतिशय मोठें व महत्त्वाचें असल्यामुळें, या कामास पैशांची व मनुष्यांची फार जरुरी आहे तरी मुंबई शहरवासीयांस व इलाख्यांतील अखिल महार बंधुभगिनींस आग्रहाची व अगत्याची विनंती करण्यांत येते की, त्यांनी आपापसांतील वैयक्तिक मतभेद बाजूस ठेवून व एक दिलानें या परिषदेमध्ये भाग घेऊन ही परिषद यशस्वी करावी.

परिषदेमध्यें बहुजन समाजास भाग घेतां यावा म्हणून सर्वांना सोयीस्कर पडतील असे खालील प्रमाणे वर्गणीचे दर ठेवण्यांत आलेले आहेत.

[अ] स्वागत मंडळांतील सभासद ५ रुपये
[ब] सहकारी सभासद ३ रुपये
[क] साधारण सहकारी सभासद २ ,,
[ड] सर्वसाधारण सभासद १ ,,

टीप:——मुंबई शहर व उपनगर या खेरीज बाहेरील लोकांस स्वागत मंडळाच्या सभासदत्वाची वर्गणी ३ रुपये ठेवलेली आहे.

विशेष सूचनाः——परिषदेकरितां वर्गणी किंवा देणगी देणें असल्यास अगर कांही सूचना किंवा इतर पत्रव्यवहार करणे असल्यास पुढील पत्त्यावर करणें.

जॉ. सेक्रेटरीज:- **अखिल मुंबई इलाखा महार परिषद**
दामोदर हॉल, परेल मुंबई नं. १२

ता. क.:——छापील पावती घेतल्याशिवाय आपली वर्गणी देऊं नये.

आपले नम्र,

अध्यक्ष:- रेवजी दगडूजी डोळस
उपाध्यक्ष:- संभाजी तुकाराम गायकवाड
जॉ. सेक्रेटरीज:- १ दिवाकर रेवजी पगारे, २ मारुती विठ्ठल घमरे, ३ चांगदेव नारायण मोहिते.
खजिनदार:- सुभेदार विश्राम गंगाराम सवादकर.

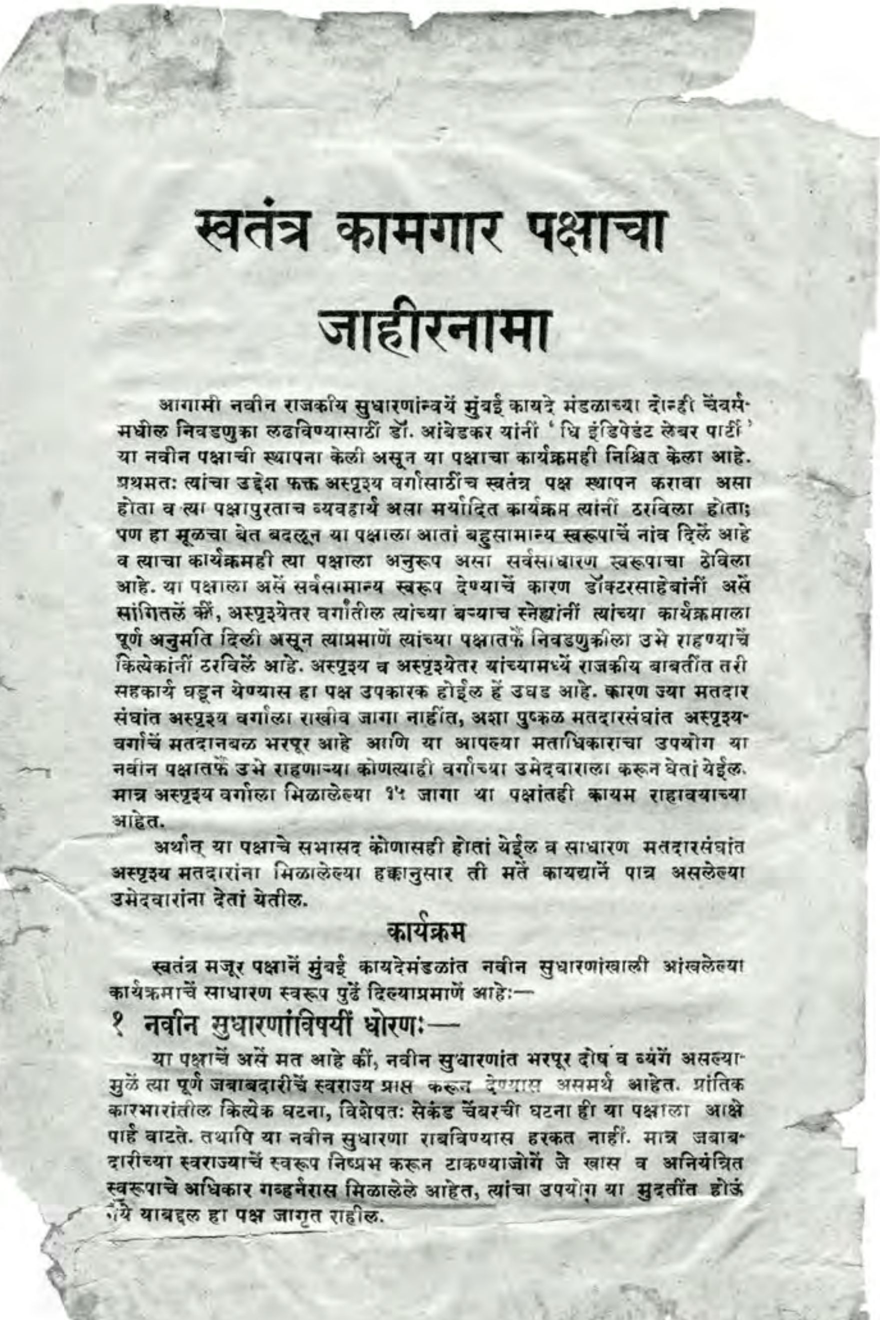
== सभासद ==

शंकर लक्ष्मण वडवलकर	देवराम चोखाजी आढांगळे	एस्. सी. जगताप	मोनू सज्जनाजी संदीरकर
केशव गोविंद आड्रेकर	मारुती भाऊदास साळवे	वनाप्पा नारायण गायकवाड	कृष्णाजी कमळाजी साळवे
घोंडीराम नारायण गायकवाड	गणपत महादेव जाधव	ताराचंद धर्माजी गायकवाड	रामचंद्र विठ्ठल मोरे
भिमक शिवाजी गंगावणे	शिवराम गोपाळ जाधव	शंकर मकुंदा अहिरे	शंकरदासबुवा वरवे
शिवाजी हनवंतराव साळवे	शंकर श्रावण भोसले	धर्मा सोनू जाधव	आर. एच. आडांगळे
गणपत विठूजी निळे	शंकर मोहनाजी भालेराव	डी. पी. रूपवते	गंगाधर सुभानराव दारोळे
गजोबा दगडूजी दुधवडे	आदिकाजी तुकाराम काळे	महादू लाघू पारधे	सखाराम सावळा विटेकर
मोंगल मारुति गायकवाड	फकीर आबाजी कांबळे	सु० शिवराम सखनाजी घाटगे	भिमाजी सावळेराम आमोंडीकर

भारत भूषण प्रेस दादर-मुंबई.

Pamphlet of the Mumbai Province Mahar Conference held at Mumbai.

After his announcement of conversion at Yeola, Dr. Ambedkar convened the Mumbai Province Mahar Conference on 30–31 May 1936 at Mumbai. The Conference was chaired by B. S. Venkatrao, who was popularly known as the Ambedkar of Hyderabad. Two other conferences were also held with this conference. One was the Sant Parishad under the chairmanship of Dr. Ambedkar on 1 June and the other was the Matanga Parishad on 2 June, with Vishnu Keshav Botalje as its President. The conferences expressed support to Dr. Ambedkar's decision of conversion and passed the resolution that Untouchables should boycott Hindu gods, deities, their temples and rites and rituals. It was here that Dr. Ambedkar delivered his historical address titled *Mukti Kone Pathe?*



स्वतंत्र कामगार पक्षाचा जाहीरनामा

आगामी नवीन राजकीय सुधारणांन्वयें मुंबई कायदे मंडळाच्या दोन्ही चेंबर्स-मधील निवडणुका लढविण्यासाठीं डॉ. आंबेडकर यांनीं 'धि इंडिपेंडंट लेबर पार्टी' या नवीन पक्षाची स्थापना केली असून या पक्षाचा कार्यक्रमही निश्चित केला आहे. प्रथमतः त्यांचा उद्देश फक्त अस्पृश्य वर्गासाठींच स्वतंत्र पक्ष स्थापन करावा असा होता व त्या पक्षापुरताच व्यवहार्य असा मर्यादित कार्यक्रम त्यांनीं ठरविला होता; पण हा मूळचा बेत बदलून या पक्षाला आतां बहुसामान्य स्वरूपाचें नांव दिलें आहे व त्याचा कार्यक्रमही त्या पक्षाला अनुरूप असा सर्वसाधारण स्वरूपाचा ठेविला आहे. या पक्षाला असें सर्वसामान्य स्वरूप देण्याचें कारण डॉक्टरसाहेबांनीं असें सांगितलें कीं, अस्पृश्येतर वर्गांतील त्यांच्या बऱ्याच स्नेह्यांनीं त्यांच्या कार्यक्रमाला पूर्ण अनुमति दिली असून त्याप्रमाणें त्यांच्या पक्षातर्फे निवडणुकीला उभे राहण्याचें कित्येकांनीं ठरविलें आहे. अस्पृश्य व अस्पृश्येतर यांच्यामध्यें राजकीय बाबतींत तरी सहकार्य घडून येण्यास हा पक्ष उपकारक होईल हें उघड आहे. कारण ज्या मतदार संघांत अस्पृश्य वर्गाला राखीव जागा नाहींत, अशा पुष्कळ मतदारसंघांत अस्पृश्य-वर्गाचें मतदानबळ भरपूर आहे आणि या आपल्या मताधिकाराचा उपयोग या नवीन पक्षातर्फे उभे राहणाऱ्या कोणत्याही वर्गाच्या उमेदवाराला करून घेतां येईल. मात्र अस्पृश्य वर्गाला मिळालेल्या १५ जागा या पक्षांतही कायम राहावयाच्या आहेत.

अर्थात् या पक्षाचे सभासद कोणासही होतां येईल व साधारण मतदारसंघांत अस्पृश्य मतदारांना मिळालेल्या हक्कानुसार ती मतें कायद्यानें पात्र असलेल्या उमेदवारांना देतां येतील.

कार्यक्रम

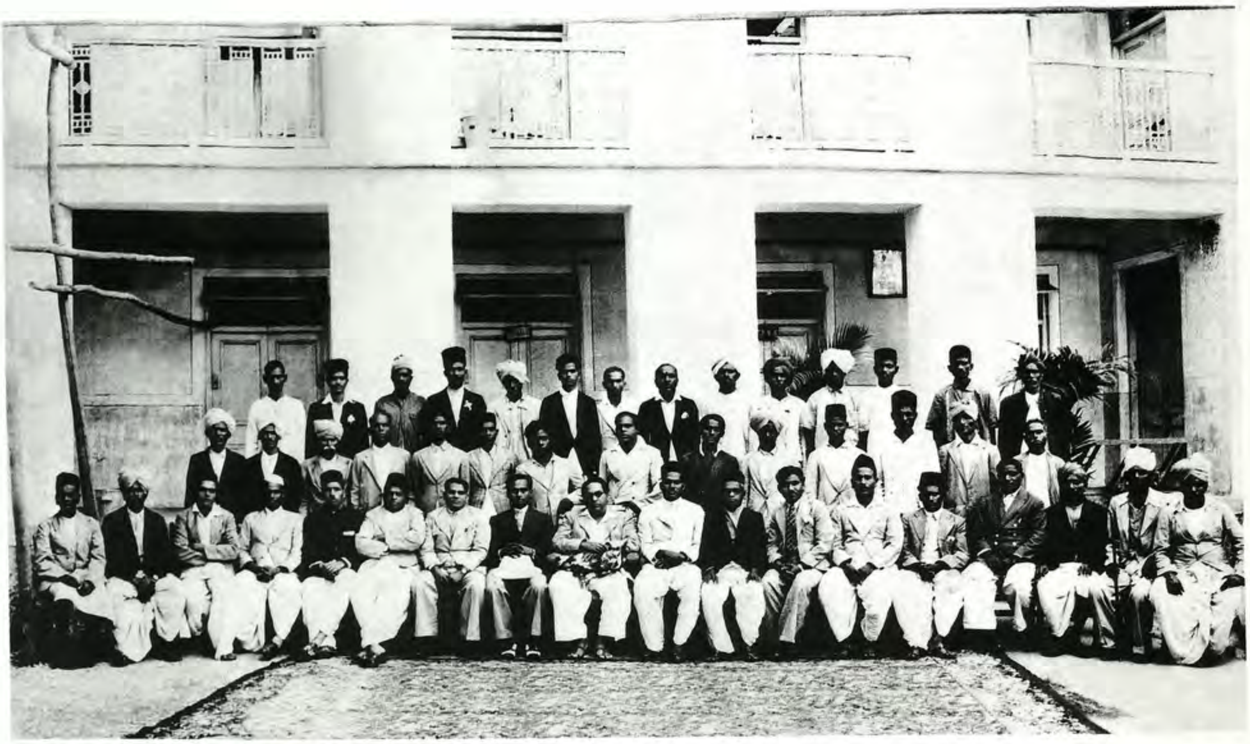
स्वतंत्र मजूर पक्षानें मुंबई कायदेमंडळांत नवीन सुधारणांखाली आंखलेल्या कार्यक्रमाचें साधारण स्वरूप पुढें दिल्याप्रमाणें आहे:—

१ नवीन सुधारणांविषयीं धोरण:—

या पक्षाचें असें मत आहे कीं, नवीन सुधारणांत भरपूर दोष व व्यंगें असल्या-मुळें त्या पूर्ण जबाबदारीचें स्वराज्य प्राप्त करून देण्यास असमर्थ आहेत. प्रांतिक कारभारांतील कित्येक घटना, विशेषतः सेकंड चेंबरची घटना ही या पक्षाला आक्षेपार्ह वाटते. तथापि या नवीन सुधारणा राबविण्यास हरकत नाहीं. मात्र जबाब-दारीच्या स्वराज्याचें स्वरूप निष्प्रभ करून टाकण्याजोगें जे खास व अनियंत्रित स्वरूपाचे अधिकार गव्हर्नरास मिळालेले आहेत, त्यांचा उपयोग या मुदतींत होऊं न्ये याबद्दल हा पक्ष जागृत राहील.

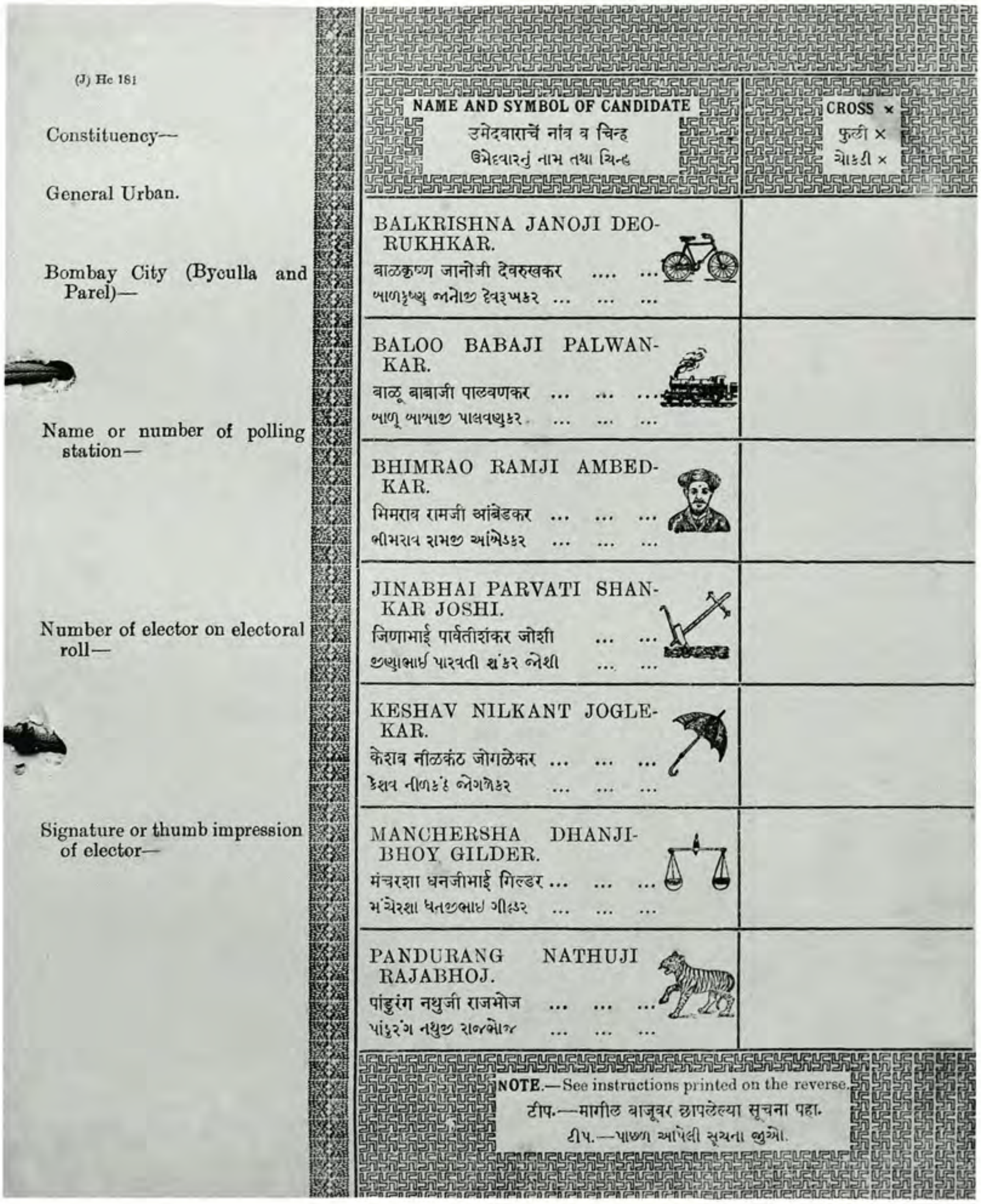
Manifesto of the Independent Labour Party.

The Government of India Act, 1935, granted Provincial Autonomy. A new government was to be formed in 1937 for which elections were to take place shortly. Keeping this in view, Dr. Ambedkar founded the Independent Labour Party on 15 August 1936. He wrote the manifesto of the party in consultation with his associates. The manifesto promised to address the grievances of agricultural tenants, farmers and workers.



Dr. Ambedkar with the office bearers of the Independent Labour Party.

In keeping with the new political reforms, general elections for the Provincial Legislative Councils were held on 17 February 1937. Eighteen candidates from the Independent Labour Party, including Dr. Ambedkar contested the elections to the Mumbai Province Council with a total of 175 seats. Many of them were from the upper castes. Out of these, fourteen were elected to the Lower House and two to the Upper House, including Dr. Ambedkar. These candidates presented important bills such as the Mahar Watan Bill, Khoti Bill, Family Planning Bill and Savkari Bill in the Council.



(J) Hc 181

Constituency—

General Urban.

Bombay City (Byculla and Parel)—

Name or number of polling station—

Number of elector on electoral roll—

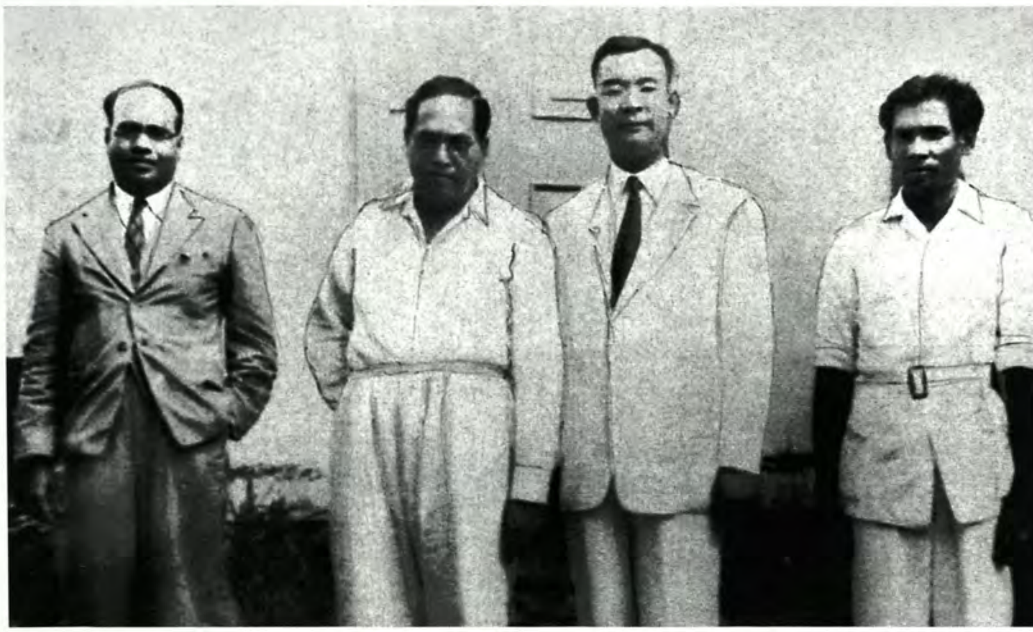
Signature or thumb impression of elector—

NAME AND SYMBOL OF CANDIDATE उमेदवाराचें नांव व चिन्ह ઉમેદવારનું નામ તથા ચિન્હ	CROSS × फुली × ચોકડી ×
BALKRISHNA JANOJI DEORUKHKAR. बाळकृष्ण जानोजी देवरुखकर .... બાળકૃષ્ણ જાનોજી દેવરૂખકર	
BALOO BABAJI PALWANKAR. बाळू बाबाजी पालवणकर ... ... બાળુ બાબાજી પાલવણકર	
BHIMRAO RAMJI AMBEDKAR. भिमराव रामजी आंबेडकर ... ... ભીમરાવ રામજી આંબેડકર	
JINABHAI PARVATI SHANKAR JOSHI. जिणाभाई पार्वतीशंकर जोशी ... ... જીણાભાઈ પારવતી શંકર જોશી	
KESHAV NILKANT JOGLEKAR. केशव नीळकंठ जोगळेकर ... ... કેશવ નીળકંઠ જોગળેકર	
MANCHERSHA DHANJIBHOY GILDER. मंचरशा धनजीभाई गिल्डर ... ... મંચેરશા ધનજીભાઇ ગીલ્ડર	
PANDURANG NATHUJI RAJABHOJ. पांडुरंग नथुजी राजभोज ... ... પાંડુરંગ નથુજી રાજભોજ	

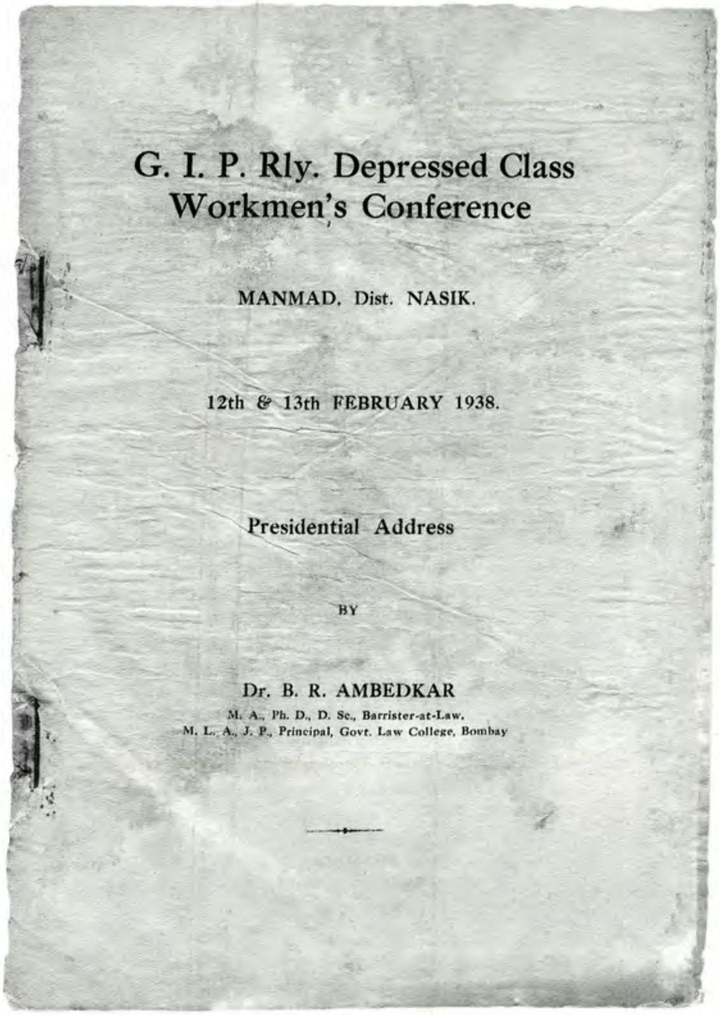
NOTE.—See instructions printed on the reverse.
टीप.—मागील बाजूवर छापलेल्या सूचना पहा.
ટીપ.—પાછળ આપેલી સૂચના જુઓ.

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Ballot Paper of the elections held on 17 February 1937. Dr. Ambedkar contested these elections from Central Mumbai. He represented the Independent Labour Party. The symbol of the party was *Manoos* (human being).



Othman Oh, the representative of Muslims in China, visited India in 1938. He met Dr. Ambedkar to acquaint himself with the condition of the Depressed Classes in India. Seen in this photograph: Barrister Hussein, Dr. Ambedkar, Othman Oh and Ram Aurangabadkar (journalist).


G. I. P. Rly. Depressed Class Workmen's Conference

MANMAD, Dist. NASIK.

12th & 13th FEBRUARY 1938.

Presidential Address

BY

Dr. B. R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc., Barrister-at-Law.
M. L. A., J. P., Principal, Govt. Law College, Bombay

In an effort to organise the Depressed Classes socially, politically as well as financially, Dr. Ambedkar aimed to form a union of the railway workers, similar to the union of peasants. A conference of Untouchable GIP railway workers was convened at Manmad (district Nashik), on 12 and 13 February 1938. Approximately 20,000 workers attended this conference. In his Presidential Address Dr. Ambedkar said, 'Brahminism and Capitalism are the greatest enemies of the working classes. By Brahminism I mean the negation of the spirit of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.' He clearly indicated the targets of his struggle.

दलित निराश्रीत सहाय्यक फंड

अस्पृश्य बंधू भगिनींना कळविण्यांत येते कीं, गरीब व निरापराध अशा अस्पृश्य वर्गीय लोकांवर स्पृश्य वर्गीय लोकांकडून मुंबई व इतरत्र अनेक ठिकाणीं मारहाण, छळ, अत्याचार व जुलूम केला जात असल्याच्या शेंकडों तक्रारी हरघडी आमच्याकडे येत आहेत. वरील जुलूमामुळें अनेक गरीब व निराश्रीत लोकांचें अनन्वीत हाल होत आहेत. अशा प्रसंगी आपल्या निराश्रीत बंधूना शक्य त्यामार्गें सहाय्यता करणें हे आपले दरेक ज्ञाती हितेच्छू बांधवांचे कर्तव्य आहे. आणि म्हणून या असल्या निकडीच्या कामासाठीं

दलित निराश्रीत सहाय्यक फंड

या नांवाचा फंड मी काढीत आहे. फंडाच्या नांवावरून त्याची गरज व महत्व आपण जाणतां. या कामीं कमीत कमी, रु. २ पेक्षां कमी नाहीं इतकी तरी मदत आपण दरेकानीं करणें आज आपलें प्रथम व पवित्र कर्तव्य आहे. या फंडास पावती शिवाय कोणीही मदत करूं नये. अशी विनंति आहे.

ज्या ज्या ठिकाणीं अस्पृश्य लोकांवर स्पृश्यवर्गीय लोकांकडून मारहाण छळ अगर जुलूम होईल त्याची सविस्तर हकिकत खालील पत्यावर कळवीत जावी. त्या बाबत योग्य ती चौकशी होऊन शक्य ती सहाय्यता केली जाईल.

पत्रव्यवहार श्री भाऊराव कृष्णराव गायकवाड अध्यक्ष मुंबई प्रांतिक दलित फेडरेशन, धन मॅनशन व्हिन्सेट रोड, दादर मुंबई नं. १४ या पत्यावर करावा.

आपला
भिमराव रामजी आंबेडकर

Dr. Ambedkar established the Dalit Nirashrit-Sahayyak Fund in a bid to liberate the Depressed Classes. This is the pamphlet soliciting aid to the fund.

threw bobbins at the loyal workers. Three mills which usually go on night shifts have abandoned night shifts in Sholapur. 22 people have been arrested for intimidation.

All industrial concerns in Hubli, Gadag in the Dharwar district carried on their work normally.

LEADERS SATISFIED AT RESPONSE

Ambedkar And Capture Of Power By Workers

As a finale to the one-day strike, that was staged on Monday a gigantic rally of the workers of Bombay was held at the Kamgar Maidan in the evening.

The Maidan was the point towards which various groups of workers came in processions, large and small, and the audience was computed at about 50,000 people.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta presided and Messrs. B. T. Ranadive, D. V. Pradhan, R. S. Nimbkar, B. R. Ambedkar and S. A. Dange addressed the meeting.

A huge effigy of the Industrial Disputes Bill was prominently displayed at the meeting.

FIRING CONDEMNED

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta whose voice, in common with most of that of the labour leaders, had "gone on strike", said that the strike was successful not only in Bombay but in other places in Presidency. He vehemently condemned the police firing, which occurred early in the day.

Mr. D. V. Pradhan stated that this demonstration would deter other Provincial Governments from enacting such measures.

Mr. R. S. Nimbkar said that the fight had not ended. He was pleased with the results of the demonstration. He had never seen such a thing in his life and he hoped that the solidarity displayed by the workers would continue.

The Industrial Dispute Bill had been fought tooth and nail by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and other Labour leaders in the Assembly. He congratulated them on their fight. The progress of the Bill would be simply opposed in the Council by Mr. S. C. Joshi. But there was no doubt it would pass into law.

THE REMEDY

The remedy for all this was that the workers should capture power. If they had learnt anything from to-day's demonstration it would be this, namely, that the time had come for the workers to capture all seats of power like the Municipalities and other local bodies.

Continuing Dr. Ambedkar said that if the Congress intended to carry on a genuine fight against Imperialism he would throw in his lot with the Congress. But to-day their talk of fighting the British Government was only intended to create a diversion. But if ever he found that the Congress was really and honestly fighting for Freedom he would give up his present attitude and join the fight.

Dr. Ambedkar appealed to the workers to support non-Congress candidates at the ensuing Municipal elections.

A copy of the Industrial Disputes Bill was ceremoniously burnt by Mr. Mehta at the end of the meeting amidst, vociferous cheers.

In September 1938, the Industrial Disputes Bill was passed by the Congress led Bombay Province Legislative Assembly. Dr. Ambedkar and Jamnadas Mehta opposed the bill tooth and nail. The bill came to be known as the Black Bill. A one-day strike on 7 November 1938 was called by Dr. Ambedkar's Independent Labour Party, the Communists' Mill Workers' Union and sixty other organisations, in protest of the bill. A labour rally was held at Kamgar Maidan. Dr. Ambedkar and other leaders addressed this gathering attended in thousands. This strike earned Dr. Ambedkar recognition as a prominent labour leader. A report in a newspaper of this rally.



Louis Fischer, writer of international repute and Gandhiji's biographer, met Dr. Ambedkar at Mumbai (1938–39).
(L to R): P. N. Rajbhoj, Louis Fischer, Dr. Ambedkar and Ganpat Mahadev Jadhav (Madkebua).



Photograph of the annual meet of the Samata Sainik Dal attended by 20,000 *sainiks*, organised by the Independent Labour Party on 8 January 1939 at Kamgar Maidan, Mumbai.

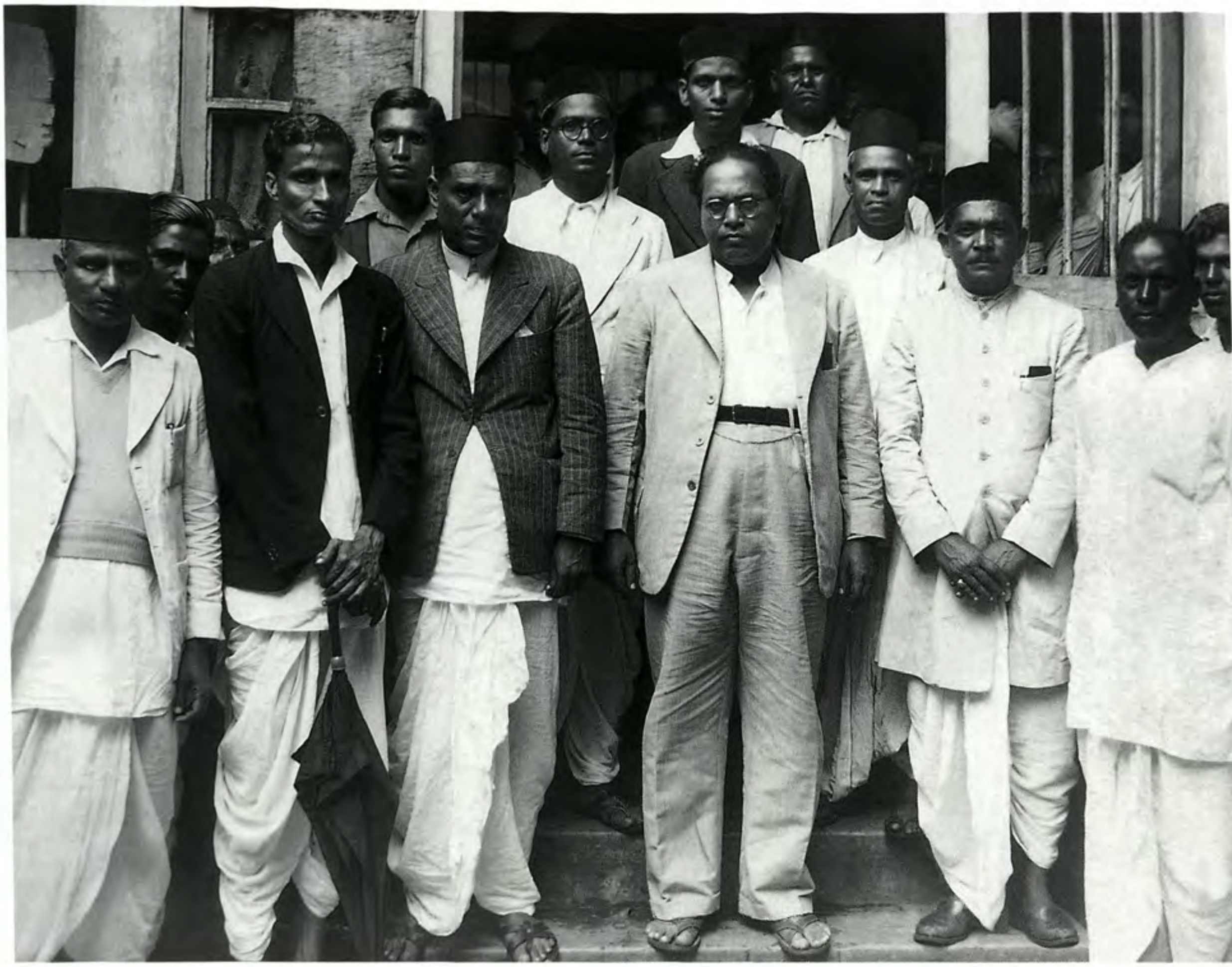
Dr. Ambedkar was given a Guard of Honour. On the right of Dr. Ambedkar is D. V. Pradhan who was one of the office bearers of the Independent Labour Party. His association with Dr. Ambedkar dated back to the Mahad Satyagraha.



Subedar Vishram Gangaram Sawadkar, Dr. Ambedkar's trusted associate since the times of the Chavdar Tale Satyagraha of Mahad, died on 14 January 1939 at Mumbai. Sawadkar had served in the Jat Regiment of the army. He had founded an *Ashram* for Untouchable students at Mahad. The funeral procession took place on 15 January. Here Dr. Ambedkar is seen with his associates and volunteers of the Independent Labour Party and the Samata Sainik Dal.



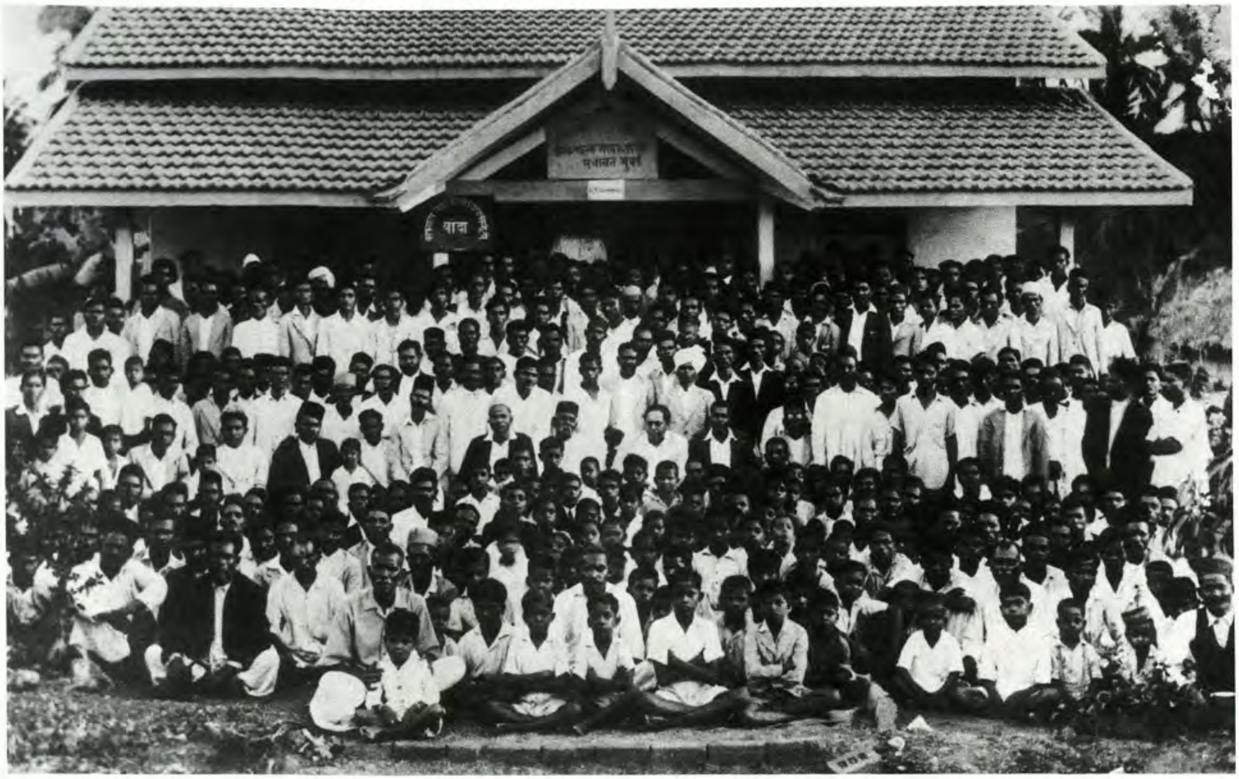
Periar Ramaswami Naicker, leader of the Justice Party from South India, met Dr. Ambedkar and Barrister Jinnah on 8 January 1940 at Mumbai. He acquainted them with his party and talked about his stance regarding an Independent Tamil State and the Hindi language. Ramaswami Naicker was leading a movement in the south, against Brahminical domination.



Dr. Ambedkar visited settlements of the Depressed Classes in an effort to bring among them awakening of thought. This photograph was taken on one such visit to the BDD Chawl, Worli, Mumbai in 1940. He is seen here with his associates.



The Akhil Dalit Parishad was held on 16 March 1941 at Ahmedabad with G. T. Parmar Guruji as its Chairman. Dr. Ambedkar's followers took him in an open-hooded motor car to the venue of the Conference. This is the picture of the procession at Ellis Bridge (Ashram Road).



The Mahar Dnyati Panchayat Samiti was founded on 25 May 1941 at Mumbai, with Dr. Ambedkar as its President. A photograph from the occasion. After the Dhammadeeksha Ceremony of 1956, the Samiti was renamed Bauddhajan Panchayat Samiti.



Members of the National Security Council visited the Ahmednagar District Local Board on 10 December 1941. Dr. Ambedkar was one of the members of the Council. In the photograph he is seen with other members of the Council (garlanded) and members of the Local Board.



On 14 April 1942, Dr. Ambedkar's birthday was celebrated by the Asprishya Mahila Samaj, Mumbai, at his residence in Hindu Colony, Dadar. The volunteers of the Samaj are seen here with Dr. Ambedkar.



ıkar was appointed member of the Central Executive Council by the Viceroy on 2 July 1942. Volunteers of the Mumbai Mahila Samaj congratulated Dr. Ambedkar at Rajgraha, his residence in Mumbai, for this appointment. Seen in the photograph mbedkar are (from left): Kamal Kamble, Draupadi Dikhale, Shantabai Shankarrao Wadvalkar, Shantabai Pagare, Meerabai khubai Mohite and Mrs. Donde.



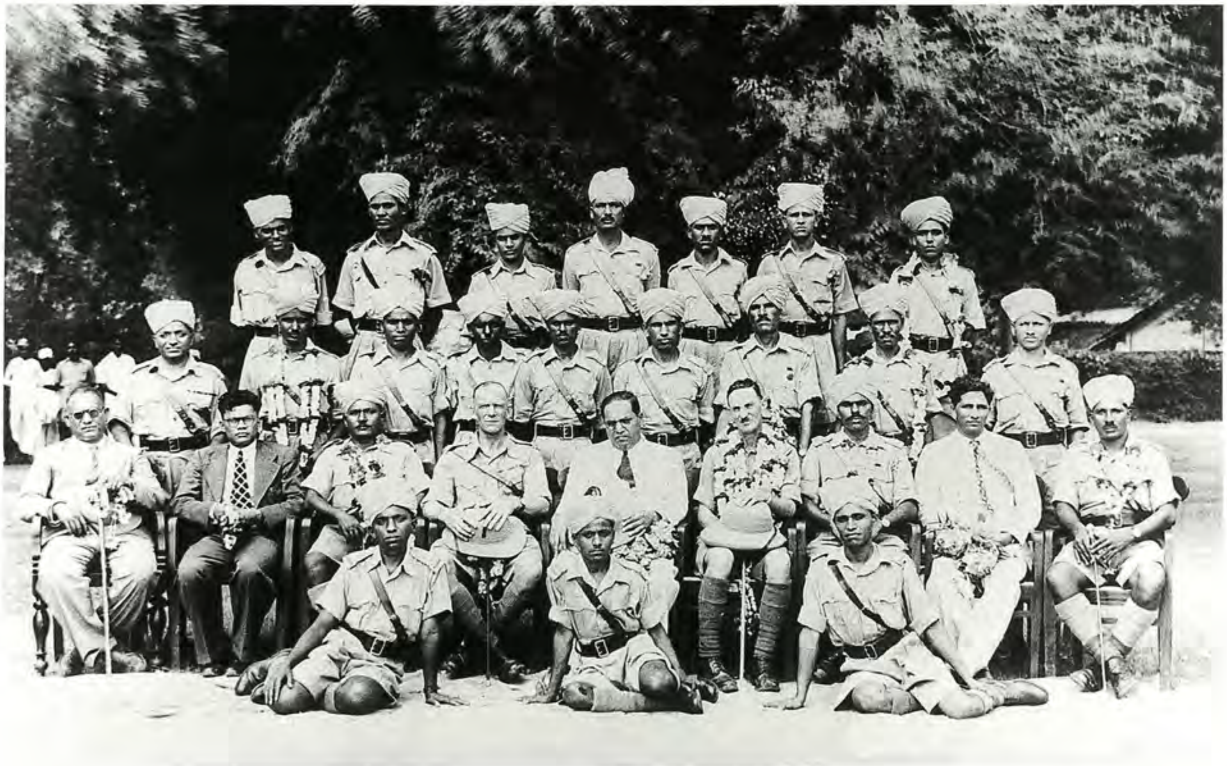
On 12 July 1942, Dr. Ambedkar was felicitated jointly by the Mumbai Province Independent Labour Party and the Mumbai Municipal Labour Union, at Cawasjee Jehangir Hall, Mumbai, for his appointment as the member of Central Executive Council of India. Dr. Ambedkar on his way to the function with Shankarrao Wadvalkar.



When Dr. Ambedkar was appointed member of the Central Executive Council by the Viceroy, he was busy making preparations for the third convention of the All India Depressed Classes Conference, which was scheduled to meet from 18–20 July, at Nagpur. The Conference convened under the presidentship of N. Shivraj. A new political party by the name of the Scheduled Castes Federation was founded in this Conference. Dr. Ambedkar with prominent leaders and followers at the venue of the Conference.



The Second Session of the Akhil Bharatiya Dalit Mahila Parishad was also held with the Conference of the All India Depressed Classes at Nagpur on 20 July 1942. Sulochanabai Dongre of Amravati was the Chairperson of this Session. The meet demanded abolition of polygamy and minimum wages and leave with pay for workers. In the photograph Dr. Ambedkar is seen with the office bearers of the A. B. Dalit Mahila Parishad.



Dr. Ambedkar with the Commanding Officer, officers and soldiers of the first and second battalions of the Mahar Regiment of Kamthi at Nagpur (20 July 1942). Also seen are G. T. Meshram, D. G. Jadhav (sitting, first and second from left) and Rajabhau Bhole (sitting, second from right)



Dr. Ambedkar took charge of the Labour Portfolio on 27 July 1942. On 7 and 8 August 1942, he presided over a tripartite Labour Conference held at Delhi. The Conference was attended by representatives of workers, mill-owners and the government. Prominent Labour leaders like V. V. Giri, N. M. Joshi and Jamnadas Mehta were also present.

The photograph shows Dr. Ambedkar delivering the address titled *The Need for Uniformity in Labour Legislation.* Sitting on his right are Labour leaders Jamnadas Mehta, N. M. Joshi and Dwarkanath Pradhan.

अखिल महार समाजाची लष्कर भरतीची सभा.

स्थळः–नायगांव येथील 'बी' ब्लॉटच्या भव्य मैदानावर.

वेळः–रविवार ता. १३ डिसेंबर १९४२ रोजीं सायंकाळीं ४ वाजतां (न. टा.)



"इंग्रज लोक केवळ येथील दोन दिवसांचे पाहुणे आहेत. हिंदुस्थान हा त्यांचा देश नव्हे; पुढच्या चार पांच वर्षांत त्यांनां कदाचित् हा देश सोडूनही जावें लागेल. पण आपली गोष्ट तशी नाहीं. हा देश आपला आहे. आपल्याला येथेंच जगणें मरणें प्राप्त आहे. म्हणून इंग्रजांपेक्षाही या देशाच्या संरक्षणाची जबाबदारी आपल्यावर आहे.

असें असल्यामुळें जपानी वगैरे परकीय शत्रूंच्या हल्ल्यापासून आपल्या या मातृभूमीचें रक्षण करण्याकरतां हजारों तरुणांनीं सैन्यांत दाखल झालें पाहिजे.

म्हणून या युद्धांत भाग घेऊं नका असें सांगणारे पुढारी या देशाचे खरे मित्र नव्हत, त्यांचें तुम्हीं ऐकूं नका; त्यांचा उपदेश मूर्खपणाचा व आत्मघाताचा आहे.

आपल्या महाड ताल्लुक्यांतून शेंकडों महार तरूण देशाच्या संरक्षणासाठीं सैन्यांत दाखल झाले आहेत. इतर ताल्लुक्यांतुन व प्रांतांतुन याच धडाडीनें आपल्या तरुणांनी सैन्यांत दाखल झालें पाहिजे. ह्यांतच आपल्या समाजाचें व आपल्या देशाचें खरें हित असून हेंच आपलें आजचें निकडीचें कर्तव्य आहे."

डॉ. **बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर** यांचें
महाड येथील भाषण
ता. १०–११–४२.

आपले परमपुज्य पुढारी नामदार डॉ. **बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर,** यांच्या वरील उद्गारांची सत्यता पटविण्यासाठीं व महार जातीतील तरुणांना 'महार फलटण' मध्यें भरती होण्यास प्रवृत्त करण्यासाठी खास बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांच्या आज्ञेनुसार स्थापन करण्यांत आलेल्या 'महार रिक्रुटमेंट बोर्डा' तर्फे नायगांव येथील "बी" ब्लॉटच्या भव्य मैदानावर मुंबईतील अखिल महार बंधुभगिनींची जंगी जाहीर सभा **रविवार ता. १३ माहे डिसेंबर सन १९४२** रोजीं **संध्याकाळीं ४** वाजतां भरणार आहे. सभेचें अध्यक्षस्थान मुंबईच्या गव्हर्नर साहेबांचें सल्लागार मेहेरबान **सी. एच्. ब्रिस्टोसाहेब** सी. आय्. ई., आय्. सी. एस्. यांनीं स्विकारण्याचें कबूल केले आहे. या सभेस कॅप्टन सी. प्रे. असि. रिक्रुटिंग ऑफिसर, मेजर बी. एल्. साही, रिक्रुटिंग मेडिकल ऑफिसर, श्री. बाबुराव अर्नाळकर एक्स्ट्रा अ. रि. ऑफिसर, मुंबई; प्रो. व्ही. जी. राव, प्रि. दोंदे, एस्. सी. जोशी, प्रधान, देवरुखकर, नाईक, केणी, जे. पी., चित्रे, असईकर, आमदार गायकवाड, कवळी वकील, माने वकील, कमलाकान्त चित्रे, सुरबा टिपणीस, जाधव उर्फ मडकेबुवा, कद्रेकर इत्यादि थोर थोर मंडळी हजर राहणार आहेत. तरी सर्वत्रांनीं अवश्य हजर राहण्याची कृपा करावी.

ता. क. —करमणुकीसाठीं श्री. आडांगळे व श्री. करडक यांच्या जलशाचा व शाहीर घेगडे यांच्या पोवाडे गायनांचा कार्यक्रम होईल.

अध्यक्ष : अ. ल. शिरावळे सुभेदार	बा. दे. कोळसूळकर	भि. धों. करडक
उपाध्यक्ष : ग. म. उर्फ मडके बुवा	तु. आ. वांबोलकर	ज. ग. भातणकर
कार्याध्यक्ष : रा. ग. भातणकर	ग. गो. बरघरकर	ब. ह्. नेवाळकर
खजिनदार : विठ्ठल बुवा धयाविलकर	वि. ल. डोळस	ना. भि. आसगोळकर
ह्. ल. बडवलकर	शं. ना. खैरमोडे	जा. ल. विळेकर
सी. का. वीरकर	रा. स. दारोळे	पां. शि. पवार मास्तर
शि. गो. गमरे	शं. भि. जाधव	पां. चां. ताम्हणकर
कृ. क. बलंगकर	मा. मा. ससाळेकर	शं. ल. बडवलकर
गो. ना. पगारे	शि. रा. धयाळकर	का. वि. सवादकर
ल. गो. तळवटकर	ह्. हं. आडांगळे	जॉ. से. म. रि. बोर्ड, मुंबई.

श्रीगंगाधर प्रेस, दादर.

The pamphlet (1942) regarding a meet called to encourage the recruitment of Untouchable men to the military.

With the ongoing Second World War, Dr. Ambedkar encouraged Untouchable youth to join the military. He impressed upon them that the British reign was bound to end some day. India was their country and they were bound by their birth to protect it from its enemies.



Dr. Ambedkar was felicitated by the Pune District Local Board on 18 January 1943, under the leadership of R. G. Khandale. In this photograph from that occasion, seen on Dr. Ambedkar's right is A. G. Awate, President, Pune District Local Board and on his left is R. G. Khandale, member of the Local Board.



This photograph was taken on 9 December 1943, when Dr. Ambedkar as the Minister of Labour, paid a visit to the colony of mineworkers at Dhanbad (Bihar). He visited several other settlements of mineworkers to acquaint himself with their grievances. As the Minister of Labour, he strived hard to formulate and implement plans, which would give workers minimum wages, medical facilities, regulated working hours, maternity leave for women workers, separate wash rooms for women workers at the workplace, security arrangements, workers' settlements, mandatory education for children of workers and mandatory life insurance.